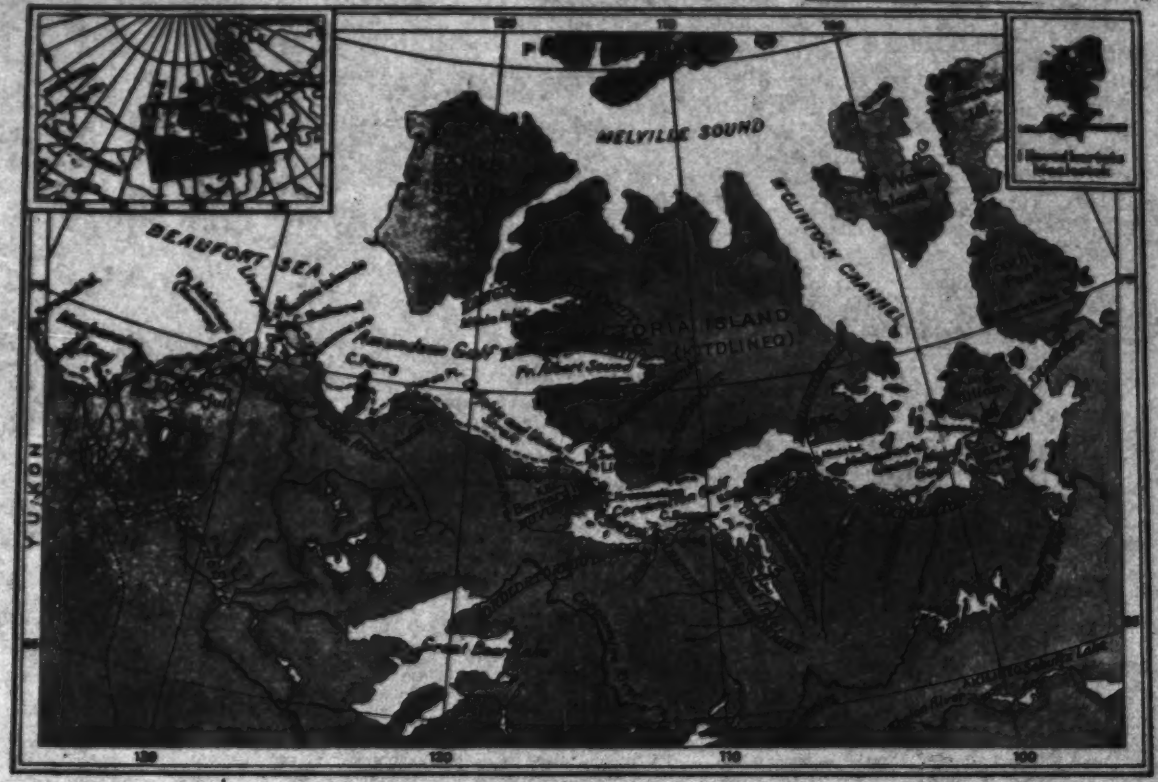
3: Rasmussen--5 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 123

"The material for this book was collected in just under three months. Only one of these was spent under conditions quite enough for me to work more or less undisturbed, whereas during the remainder of the time I was either travelling for the purpose of visiting the various groups or occupied in procuring food for our dogs. As a consequence I had to make my dispositions for the work in a manner other than had been the case with the earlier books, which circumstance also necessitated a different arrangement of the material. That the result has nevertheless been so voluminous is particularly due to the fact that among the Musk-Ox People I found splendid Eskimo collaborators, who not only were possessed of a wide knowledge of the traditions of their tribe, but also to an astonishing degree understood the purpose of my work and at all times were ready to answer enquiries and in the fullest way supply me with the information I required. This most creditable assistance has made it possible for me to make very comprehensive linguistical records despite the short time at my disposal. As singers and interpreters of the old spirituals the Musk-Ox People were really outstanding--as poets perhaps the most gifted and inspired Eskimos I have ever fallen in with. Their store of legends, on the other hand, was only small, and as the art of narration among them moreover was remarkably primitive, I have considered it necessary to preface every legend with a resumé of substance and meaning in order to facilitate the reader's understanding of the literal translation. I have included everything that was told me, even the very slender and apparently insignificant fragments, for some day they may be useful as variants and as a comparative material."

3: Rasmussen--opposite 7 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo

116, 102



Route-map, showing the various Eskimo groups between Adelaide Peninsula and Dolphin and Union Strait. For comparison the Danish islands of Sealand, Lolland and Falster are reproduced in the top right hand corner on the same scale.

"There was firm ice over the whole of Simpson Strait on the 1st of November 1923, and, as far as we could see, the weather was good out over Queen Maud Sea too. It was time to start off with my two Greenland companions Arnarulúnguaq and Qàvigarssuaq. We were now about to leave the Netsilingmiut, with whom we had become fast friends as the result of our long sojourn among them, to explore new fields in the land of the Copper Eskimos. Parting from them was no light matter; the Netsilingmiut themselves seemed to be moved at the prospect of our leaving them -- perhaps never to see them again. Our friendly intercourse, and the gravity thrown over our conversations by the nature of my work, had helped to form ties that now were not so easy to cut through.

Side by side with the Eskimos were our new friends, the Hudson's Bay Company traders Peter Norberg, the Swede, and Henry Bjørn, the Dane, who had left nothing undone to assist us with our preparations for the long journey ahead of us. That it was long there is no denying; for, if we got through, we were to be right across to Nome in Alaska at the end of spring or the first part of summer. Unfortunately the season so far was against long journeys; actual daylight lasted only about four hours, and, if any reconnoitring had to be done, a whole day was easily lost. We had the option of taking the route over the safe ice right in under land or trying to find a short cut across Queen Maud Gulf, over ice that was not to be depended on. On the second day out we voted for the latter, for along by the shore we were more or less certain to meet with old,

frozen-in pack ice, which would not only take too much out of the dogs but delay us very considerably."

3: Rasmussen--7-8 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-2
116, 122, 132

"Queen Maud Gulf is a large, expansive sea running out into relatively narrow straits to the north, west and east. There is a fairly [8]swift current through these straits, and as swell and wind have more or less free play over the broad indentation between Victoria Land and the mainland, it is rather late in the year before the water further out is sheeted with ice. Along by the shore, however, where the efflux of many rivers makes the water fresh, and innumerable small islands bind the ice, it is often possible to count upon a covering of ice as early as the beginning of October. Day by day this border of ice along the shore spreads over towards Victoria Land, the outer margin growing with every few days of calm weather. If the temperature is about 20 degrees below zero, one can drive over this new ice when it is only about two days old, even with heavy sledges. There is no snow on it at all, its only covering being a thin layer of rime; it is smooth and firm and not packed anywhere, and provides such easy going that, if one has willing dogs, what would otherwise be a long day's journey can be traversed in the course of a few hours. The only drawback is that great caution is necessary, and the uninitiated will often be unable to see the difference between the thick, safe ice and places where it is only a few hours old. This may be fatal, for it is always extremely dangerous to fall through thin ice where there is no snow. On breaking through the water washes over the unbroken edges and softens them, so that one continues to fall through; unless there is really old ice close by it is rarely possible

to clamber up again. It was thus a risky proceeding to drive our collections over such going, but on the other hand we had faith in our ability to distinguish between good and bad and so determined to take the chance. One thing we did not dare to do, and that was to overnight on this new ice, as with the slightest breeze it would break up, and either begin to pack under the very sledges or drift out to sea. So every afternoon we had to drive a considerable distance in towards the old ice and pick out a place to bivouac. And as a matter of fact this was necessary in order to renew our supplies of drinking water."

3: Rasmussen--8-9 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 122

"Thus we spent a very exciting week, Qâvigarssuaq and I forcing our daily distance up to the utmost as long as the light lasted. For the purpose of helping to transport our ethnographical collections we had a companion sledge with two men, Inugtuk and Usugleq. These two were experienced travellers, always ready and willing, but their dogs were only poor. The result was that we left them behind every day, and every evening we others spent some anxious hours until the whole expedition with baggage complete had gathered at the place that we had selected for our camp. As soon as twilight fell, and we had fixed upon a place to sleep, Qâvigarssuaq and I used to ignite large beacons of blubber to guide the two Netsiliks to us, as [9] our sledge tracks on the bare ice were difficult to follow. In those dark evenings these bonfires glared with entrancing beauty; all around us was waste and grey, and when we stood still we could hear the grating moan of the ice out in the open sea, which was never very far away.

However, these hurry-scurry days with their strange, tense nights eventually came to an end; as early as the ninth of November we had got to the land west of Ogden Bay, nearly up to Kûgssuaq River, whence we could follow the coast almost straight along to Melbourne Island. We were greatly impressed by the river, which seemed to be at least twenty to twenty-five kilometres wide at the mouth."

3: Rasmussen--9 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 122, 133

"The coast of the mainland, with Queen Maud Gulf, is very little known, and yet it is one of the most interesting along the whole of the northlands of Canada. Thousands of small smooth-worn gneiss islets protect the low land from the sea and the enormous masses of ice, with the result that on the landward side of these islands we had an exceedingly pleasant trip for the rest of the way, not a sign of pack ice, and sufficient snow to make the going perfect. There are crowds of game on land in the proper seasons, and as yet the spring and autumn migrations of the caribou especially seem to be quite undisturbed. Quite a number of rivers of considerable size provide means of communication for the roaming caribou hunters, and here and there also provide splendid trout fishing. When we passed along the coast, however, we did not meet any people, for at that time of the year they are still in the interior. I knew that later on in the coming winter I would find most of them round about Kent and so did not waste time on going to visit them now; we kept on at the same speed as long as we had provisions and dog-feed enough."

3: Rasmussen--9-10 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-2
116, 122

"It was no later than the tenth of the month when we crossed Aulatsivigssuaq, whose name in English is White Bear Point -- a low spit projecting into the sea for about 15 kilometres. The land we passed over seemed quite luxuriant to us after our long stay in the barren and bare regions in the east, and we were particularly surprised to see the grass sticking up out of the snow. On the evening of that day we were able to pitch our tents just off the mouth of the Kûnajuk, or Ellice River, which forms a tremendous delta in a bay with at least 30 kilometres width of fresh water. We camped on a small island, where foxes had broken into a blubber cache and had a high time of it all that autumn; on the ice and on the island there were so many tracks that it was like being in a big village, with all the snow trampled firm and hard by children at play.

By this time we should have been further inland, a two-days' journey, to fetch the dogs that Qâvigarssuaq had left last summer; [10]but as the man who had taken charge of them had promised to take them to Kent as soon as the ice formed, we preferred to continue on our way. If we met nobody, and if we ourselves were compelled to hunt in order to feed the dogs, we could easily spare the days we had gained by our rapid run over Queen Maud Gulf.

During the next two days we struggled against a violent blizzard; we could scarcely see anything, but as we merely had to follow the line of the coast, abreast of which there were still a number of islands, we could not go wrong; so we defied wind and

weather with such good results that we had already passed Melbourne Island on the thirteenth of November and fell in with the first Kitlinermiut while crossing the land between Queen Maud Gulf and Arctic Sound, which like the arm of a mighty fjord shoots in behind Kent Peninsula. By taking this route we again made a short cut to the trading post, at the same time escaping the pack ice that is always to be found around projecting tongues of land."

3: Rasmussen--10 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 177, 609

"Our meeting with the first man was quite unceremonious but quite characteristic of these people, [MPK: the Copper Eskimo] who seem to live on a constant war footing with all strangers. While labouring to make our way into the little bay so that we might save time by driving over a point, I had climbered up a hillock to reconnoitre, when suddenly I caught sight of a young man jigging for cod on the ice. Scarcely had he seen me when he hauled up his line and disappeared at a run round the point. A moment later he reappeared, this time carrying a brand-new Mark 1920 repeating rifle, evidently ready to let it speak if I did not come as a friend. The misunderstanding was soon dissolved in laughter, and, almost as if we had known one another for years we were now able to make our entry into his camp. From the furnishings and utensils in his snow hut it was easy to see that we could not be far from the trading post. Fine blankets, the best of the Hudson's Bay Company's stock, were spread about the platform along with rugs of much more useful material in this land and climate--caribou skin. Enamel dishes had replaced the fine, blubber-shiny wooden trays that are made of driftwood; aluminium pans took the place of stone pots, and even the handsome Eskimo lamp of soapstone had had to surrender to a shiny basin of tin.

Up on the platform, sitting cross-legged, was a young woman in a magnificent caribou-skin jacket, though its beautiful colour effect was entirely concealed by a red overall of calico. Her hands were weighted with gaudy 'shop'rings, and between two fingers she held a fragant 'Lucky Strike' cigarette with almost blasé nonchalance."

"On the afternoon of the fourteenth of November -- a fine day right up to the moment when the [11] cold autumn sun glided down below the horizon -- I drew up before the little trading post, which was built in a sheltered cove almost at the mouth of the great fjord Ilu. I was given a most cordial welcome. The post is managed by Mr. H. Clarke, an intelligent and likeable young man, who had been sent by the H.B.C. up into these remote regions to organize all the new posts that hall been established east of Baillie Island Mr. Clark's [sic] assistant was a Danish marine engineer, Rudolf Jensen, who for about twenty years had lived up round the delta of the Mackenzie as an independent trapper and was now in the Company's service. I was most of all pleased to find there my expedition's film operator Leo Hansen, who had travelled up to meet me. By the winter mail from Repulse Bay in January 1923 I had written home to my Committee and asked to have a film-photographer sent out, as I was certain that a professional photographer, by taking living pictures, would be able to make an unusual supplement to the material which it was our object to collect. Mr. M.I. Nyeboe, the chairman of the Committee, had granted my wish, and now here was Leo Hansen at the trading post at Kent, the very place I had suggested as a meeting place in my letter to the Committee. With his photographic equipment and without the slightest untoward event he had traversed the enormous distance, first from Copenhagen to New York, then from there through Canada to Vancouver, where he boarded the Hudson Bay Company's big steamer 'Lady Kindersley'; sailing on its annual trading voyage this vessel had taken him north about America via

Point Barrow and Herschel Island eastwards to the little post of Tree River in Coronation Gulf; in September he had left there for Kent on the little schooner that takes supplies in summer to the posts at Kent and Cambridge Bay on Victoria Land. We had never met before, and now greeted each other with the cordiality that one involuntarily displays towards those who are to help to complete an important task.

Before we could commence our collaboration, however, the dogs had to have a rest, and I myself wanted a few days quietude in which to read the big mail I had just received. Mr. Clark was kind enough to place at our disposal a house that was unoccupied at the time, and it was with genuine pleasure at the unusual comfort now offered us that we took the little wooden shed in possession.

Still, we could make no long stay; the dark season was at hand, and we had to take into consideration that there would not be light enough for film photography in December. When the light returned some time in March we should be right out of the North-West Passage region, among the half civilized Eskimos in the Mackenzie Delta, and particularly on this account the days to come had to be utilized."

"We were now among the Copper Eskimos, who are called the Kitlinermiut by all the tribes to the east. Kitlineq is the name of Victoria Land, and with this word, which means boundary, the tribes more to the south undoubtedly mean that the Kitlinermiut live further north than anybody. Like the Netsilik Eskimos, they are a tribe in which they all know one another and often meet at the different hunting grounds; but, like them, they pass under various group names indicating the places where their territory is.

The question was to select a field of operation among all these groups. The people on Kent Peninsula itself call themselves Kitlinguharmiut, but as they had been in close touch with the trading post for many years, even at that time, I preferred a group that was more in its original state. At first I felt inclined to travel over to the Eqalugtôrmiut, the people on the rich salmon rivers around Cambridge Bay; but as both Vilhjalmur Stefánsson and Diamond Jenness had been in Victoria Land, and had described groups further northwest who live under exactly similar natural conditions, I rejected the idea. Then there were the Ahiarmiut, who live between Ogden Bay and Melbourne Island -- undoubtedly the tribe of all Eskimos that live the most nomadic life, and as a consequence the cleverest and most hardy travellers. Sometimes they spend the summer right over on Victoria Land at Albert Bay, and at other times they go so far into the interior on the mainland that they take part in the great trading gatherings that once were so popular in the Akilineq Mountains, right up in the land of the Caribou Eskimos, where they get supplies of wood for their sledges and kayaks on the edge of

the woodlands. But no one was able to tell me definitely where these people lived at this time of the year; some were still far inland, engaged in carrying their stores of dried caribou meat down to the coast; others were already out on the sea ice, commencing sealing at the breathing holes, or on the way to the trading post; so I had to give this tribe up too. Instead, I determined to look for the Umingmaktôrmiut, or Musk-Ox People, who had just settled on the island of Malerisiorfik, not far from Kent Peninsula, where they were now making their first preparations for the winter's sealing. There I would find people who had never been described before. And, as time showed, I had no ultimate cause to regret this choice."

3: Rasmussen--12-13 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 101, 136

"The Umingmaktôrmiut live in close contact with the Kiluhiktormiut, or the People of Bathurst Inlet, having common sealing grounds at certain times of the year. They hunt the caribou in the period from May to October. They make their way in via Hope Bay, [13] a fairly high mountain country that once abounded with musk oxen -- hence the name of Umingmaktôq: that where musk oxen are many. The herds of caribou that used to reach that country came right in from the regions round the great lakes Pelly and Garry, made their way from there down to the shores of Queen Maud Gulf, whence they scattered out over the big peninsula that lies between Bathurst Inlet and Melbourne Island. In former times the herds were so enormous that it would take them three days to cross the delta of a river, even with the animals constantly on the move. These swarms of animals, undoubtedly numbering into the hundreds of thousands, had last summer entirely failed to put in an appearance in the land of the Musk-Ox People; for since the establishment of the trading post at Kent, and the consequent easy access to guns and ammunition, they have been hunted with such energy that the animals no longer dare to follow their old paths; many families had been unable to procure clothing -- new clothing; others had had to content themselves with skins of marmots; so it was no wonder that these skilful men and women were very anxious about the future.

In this country, almost uninhabitable as it is, what could they do if there were no caribou to be had?"

3: Rasmussen--13 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 574, 609

"On the twenty-second of November 1923 we arrived at Malerisiorfik, where the Umingmaktôrmiut had built their camp of snow huts in the shelter of a mountain. There was a terrific snowstorm blowing and although we were greeted with a deafening clamour by the dogs, it was some time before the people could discern us through the billows of snow that washed over our sledges. All the men turned out at once and started to build a large snow hut for us. The women attended to Arnarulúnguaq and led her into their warm dwellings, where they treated her with the most perfect hospitality and also the curiosity due to a woman who speaks the language of the country and yet comes from a village so very far away. As soon as we had moved into our new house -- about an hour later -- all the women came, one after another, and gave us meat or salmon as a gift of welcome. In all modesty we protested against all this food, which gradually became a huge pile on the side platform, but to no avail: no one desired to break the custom of the tribe towards guests who were welcome. This cordiality and helpfulness -- an outcome of their great, inborn hospitality -- did not wear off all the time we were among them."

"We spent a whole day familiarizing our new friends [MPK: the Umingmaktôrmiut] with the objects we were pursuing, and, though they certainly were not everyday objects, we found no difficulty in making the people [14] understand the situation. At first there was some argument about the living pictures. They were unable to understand how they would have life in them unless we robbed people of their souls. However, we got over that difficulty by showing them some pieces of developed film, demonstrating how every movement was reproduced. Then when it was explained that all these pictures, enormously enlarged, were quickly passed over a white screen, they soon realized the idea; and when I promised into the bargain that Leo Hansen could begin by 'taking my soul', all scruples gradually faded away.

The sun was now so low in the sky that it just showed itself over the horizon at noon. Unfortunately, it became very cold just in these days and, accompanied by a strong breeze, remained between 40 and 50 degrees below zero, the lowest temperature I have ever experienced in November. Every time the camera was brought out and had worked a few minutes, the mechanism froze and we had to take it into the hut to thaw it out before we could continue our photography. In vain we tried building a small snow hut round the apparatus so that we could keep a primus stove burning under it; we could rarely keep the film moving longer than five or six minutes, after which the mechanism became so stiff that the handle could not be turned. Leo Hansen tried several experiments and time after time got his fingers frozen on the ice-cold camera, whose fine

screws could only be adjusted with the bare hand -- all to no purpose. Regularly every fifth minute operations had to be discontinued and the apparatus thawed. Daylight lasting only one hour and a half, these interruptions were doubly annoying. It is therefore so much more to the credit of Leo Hansen that, despite the enormous difficulties he had to contend with, he succeeded in taking a series of types and short scenes of daily life among these Eskimos where living pictures had never before been taken."

3: Rasmussen--14-15 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo -1-2
116, 152, 181, 294

"I had not been long among the Musk-Ox People before it became clear to me that there was a marked difference between them and the people I had left further east. One thing that could not fail to be observed at once was the infectiously bright spirits they were always in; they were not only full of fun, they were almost defiantly self-assured and so free in their manners that it was often necessary to keep some of them down a little. This presumptious behaviour has probably been the cause of the fear in which quieter tribes hold these Kitlinermiut. On the other hand there was nothing remarkable in their self-assurance; for the vitality that involuntarily radiated from them made them more enterprising and of greater ini- [15] tiative than other natives I have met with in Canada. The very manner in which their implements, especially their bows and arrows, were finished showed that this was a people that lived up to high standards. Their order and cleanliness was exemplary, and, though suffering from a shortage of caribou skins, their garments were not only well looked after but almost elegant. The woman seemed to be expert needlewomen, and put much more work into the decoration of the clothing than the Netsiliks and Hudson-Bay Eskimos. This one circumstance alone was new to me: besides the clothing used for hunting and indoors, they had special festival garments used only in the dance-house. One gained the impression, too, that the women were unusually steady at their work and liked to finish a thing; in this they formed a contrast to the Netsilik women, who would hang for weeks over a piece of sewing without being

able to bring themselves to finish it. In addition to these virtues they had a tongue that was enough to take one's breath away; but as they were always happy and ready for a joke, they were extremely entertaining."

3: Rasmussen--15 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 437

"Both men and women were simply passionate bargainers and they traded everything, not merely as a sport but seriously as an art. This propensity of theirs was very usesul to us in our endeavours to increase our collections of specimens, and it was not long before we had procured everything we thought we could afford to buy. For not only were they eager to trade; they were cunning traders and not at all shy of demanding high prices. Twenty-five dollars was considered reasonable for an unflensed seal, and, when the offer had been rejected, it might occur to them to demand one half of an expensive pair of prism binoculars. They were never afraid to give numbers of things away, from food to clothes; but if anything had to be paid for, it became so much the more costly. The only thing they put no value upon -- fortunately for me -- was their time, and consequently, in return for small, comparatively trifling presents I was able to keep them shut in for days when I wanted to enquire about their implement culture, their customs and habits, or their ancient tales."

3: Rasmussen--15-16 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 124

"Mr. Clark's offer to allow me to work in one of the Company's houses still held good, and so I made up my mind to go to Kent as soon as I had accustomed myself to their daily life as it is lived in their winter camps. I moved back to Kent already in the middle of December, taking with me those members of the tribe whom I had found would suit me best to work with. There is especial reason for [16] mentioning an old shaman by the name of Hêq: 'arctic willow', who was an expert of outstanding merit in mystic matters; his son Tatilgaq: 'the crane" and his wife Hikhik: 'the marmot' told me all I wanted to know about the men's hunting implements and methods and about all the work that in each house falls to the lot of the women. A young man of the name of Netsit: 'the seal', no more than twenty years old, proved to be their best storyteller, for he had been the foster child of a famous old shaman. With these five people I worked from morning till evening until I was compelled to break camp again to go further westwards. And the insight they gave me me [sic] of the spiritual and material life of the tribe was exceedingly interesting."

3: Rasmussen--16 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 181, 533

"More characteristic of the Musk-Ox People than anything else is their temperament, their inflammable mind, and the peculiar manner in which this is reflected in their songs and tales. Of all those I have met they are the most poetically gifted, and their songs are not merely restricted to epic accounts of hunting adventures and achievements of which they are proud; in addition they have a genuine faculty for moulding sentiments into words, an art that is rarely met with in these regions."

"This temperament is twofold in its manifestation; it is not only observable in their purely artistic talent, to which we shall revert later, but also in actions that do not conform to the morals of the white man. Before proceeding to portray them as singers, poets and hunting comrades, it may therefore be of interest to see how, for instance, the Canadian Mounted Police regard them -- this force once had a patrol up there. Two American scientists, Radford and Street, in the year 1913 had made a sledge journey across the Barren Grounds to the arctic coast. At the head of Bathurst Inlet, where they wished to obtain helpers for the rest of their journey westwards, they had a quarrel with the natives, and this quarrel ended in their being stabbed to death by the men of the village. Radford is described as a fiery-tempered man who had whipped the Eskimo who would not accompany them, and so he undoubtedly had himself to blame for what happened. For this reason alone it would be as well to hear the character given the Bathurst Inlet Eskimos by the leader of the police patrol. He did not fall in with the murderers themselves, only their kinsmen, whom he describes as follows:

They are all born thieves, awful liars and so absolutely untrustworthy that he would not be surprised if he heard before long that [17] more murders had been committed, as every one of them would be willing to sell his soul for a rifle.

Peculiarly enough, Leo Hansen and I had at Malerisiorfik lived almost a whole month with two of the wanted murderers, Hagdlagdlaoq and Qanijaq, the latter in fact having been our host. We got to know them as pleasant and extremely helpful men, who were

very devoted to us and left with us only the best of memories.

There is too much loose talk of 'bands of murders' among these people, as it is not always taken into account that the difference between life and death is not looked upon with the white man's solemnity. Their habits and customs are so entirely different to ours, and, in particular, their time-honoured infanticide, or extermination of 'superfluous girls' -- here as well as among the Netsilik Eskimos -- is so diametrically opposed to all forms of society that the rivalry about the women, and the many cases of vendetta which naturally follow in its wake, give birth to morals that are peculiar to these careless and temperamental children of nature."

3: Rasmussen--17-18 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-2
116, 578, 674

"Mr. Clark and I once made an inspection of a small snow-hut camp of fifteen families, and found as a result that there was not a single grown man who had not been involved in a killing in some way or other.

The list of those implicated appears as follows:

Havgugâluk killed his wife in a fit of jealousy and was killed by her relative Makharâluk.

Anguîâlik took part in a murderous assault on some neighbours, a vendetta being the reason.

Uaquaq and Erfâluk killed Qutlaq in revenging their relative Qaitsaq, the father of Netsit, who had been killed by him.

Norrahánâq stole a wife from Annernaq; there was a fight, but nobody was killed.

Portôq also stole a wife, and he, too, later fought with the woman's husband -- again without anyone being killed.

Kivgâluk lost both his father and a brother through murder; he was all ready to take vengeance, but for the present was only restrained on account of the mounted police, who came on patrol every winter and took all killers for trial.

Ingoreq in jealousy tried to kill both Arshuk and Orshoraq, but failed.

Erfvana killed Kunûnasuaq and also took part in the murder of Qutlaq.

Kingmerut shot Mangigshalialuk, and was also one of those who shot at Halggiuhialuk, who escaped death, however.

Qaitalúkaoq in anger struck down Maggarâraq with a knife. [18]

Pangnâq, a boy of about twelve years, shot his father because he was cruel to his wife, the boy's mother.

Maneraitsiaq fought a duel with Mangigshalialuk with bow and arrow, but neither were killed.

Tumaujoq stabbed Aiĺanâluk with a knife because he had killed the former's relative Mahik.

If all these killings are added to the very frequently-practised infanticide, it will be understood that the consequences are catastrophic when such things go on within groups that do not number more than a hundred individuals. The cause of the murders is temper, jealousy, the desire for a wife, or vendetta. Whatever may be thought of the motives, they may all be put together as the result of a nomadic moral that has become time-honoured through the traditions of countless generations; but I must repeat what I have already said elsewhere about the Netsilik Eskimos: it would be unjust to call these man-killers criminals or bad men; on the contrary, they are the best men in the tribe and in many cases the pillars of these small communities. Among them a mere trifling incident often gives rise to a fight, which is nearly always to the death. But it is not remembered; they do not bear malice, and therefore people who have had a serious quarrel may very well be the best of friends."

"The following affair is typical of their humour and mentality:

A man named Ulugshaq, an expert trader and notoriously bad character, possessing three wives, had just taken the drum and had stepped into the middle of the gathering, when another man by the name of Arshuk suddenly broke through the chorus and seized Ulugshaq by the shoulder, shouting in his face:

'Is it true that when I am out hunting you visit my wife behind my back?'

Ulugshaq laid the drum down and answered: 'We are not strangers to each other; get away from me and don't let us quarrel.'

He thereupon left the dance house and went home. Every house is regarded as being sacred: no one is ever attacked there. If a man attacks his enemy in his house he will himself be caught by vengeance some day when at home, suspecting nothing.

The people in the dance house thoroughly enjoyed the joke of Ulugshaq's reply, for both men were known as brawlers of uncertain temper, always ready to pick a quarrel. Arshuk followed Ulugshaq as far as his house and there took his sledge and drove it over to his own snow hut to demonstrate that he was not afraid of Ulugshaq. The affair was beginning to look serious, one that would probably end in bloodshed, until some neighbours interfered and pulled the sledge away from Arshuk's hut -- but no further than [19] that it stood midway between the dwellings of the two enemies. Further than that they dared not go for fear of Arshuk. Then suddenly, and unexpectedly, a little boy of seven or eight took a hand in the drama, without knowing what it was he was

actually doing, and dragged the sledge right back to Ulugshaq's hut. That a little child had done what none of the grown-ups had dared do -- that this little bit of a boy dared defy Arshuk before his very eyes, aroused such uproarious hilarity that Ulugshaq came out and made peace with his opponent. The whole affair petered out in laughter; they were good friends again and the dance in the snow hut was resumed where it had stopped, with Ulugshaq as soloist.

An episode like this can, better than many explanations, show how quickly a storm between two minds can rise and disperse again."

3: Rasmussen--19 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 152, 578, 593

"Of course there are bad men too, whose example frightens. Arshuk, for instance, one of the actors in the affair just described, once in his passion tore the clothes off his two wives and threw them naked out into the snow, where he beat them. When the women took courage to threaten him with the mounted police, he immediately declared that he would kill every white man who dared to mix up in his family matters. He undoubtedly meant every word of his threat; at any rate it caused the manager at the adjacent trading post to make his will, and after that he never unarmed visited his fox traps, which were set not far from Arshuk's house.

This case is a fairly isolated one, and all relations between man and wife, as everywhere else in the world, are to a great extend dependent on the tempers of the respective spouses. Among these people there are by no means a few long-tongued women who can make even the coolest man boil over, just as of course there are excitable and unreasonable men who get their deserts when their women run away from them. One thing that is practically common to them all is the swift and absolute manner in which they react in anger. My host told me, for instance, that our neighbour Quershoq, 'cough', a good-natured giant and a splendid hunter, had recently tried to shoot himself simply because his wife was 'aggravating'."

"On one single occasion I had occasion to experience in person how anger can suddenly flare up and darken the mind. It happened during the close of our stay at Kent.

As I have already said, our seven dogs were quartered on a family near Ellis River. Though 'Eider Duck' had been promised that they would be brought to the trading post when the first ice formed, we were right into December and still they had not arrived. At last I had to send 'Eider Duck' to look for them, and, when at last he found them, four of the dogs had starved to death and [20] the three that were alive were in such a dreadful condition that they had to be carried on the sledge. And this despite the fact that the man, who had been given a rifle for looking after them, had meat enough. It will therefore hardly be wondered at that later on, when this scoundrel -- Maneraitsiaq, his name was ('the smooth ice')-- visited me, I scolded him for his bad behaviour, particularly because they were dogs of which I was very fond, because they had served us ever since our depature from Greenland. There were two small rooms in our house and, when Maneraitsiaq had been given his reprimand, I went into the next room.

Then a most peculiar thing happened -- one that I was not present to see. Maneraitsiaq, who was in the other room together with 'Eider Duck' and Arnarulúnguaq, began to tremble violently. Suddenly he frothed at the mouth and, seizing his knife, rushed out. 'Eider Duck' followed him, and, seeing that the man was apparently out of his mind, and that he was running in the direction of his snow hut, thought he was going for his rifle; without saying anything to me he sprang up to Clark and Rudolph Jensen and

told them that Maneraitsiaq was going to murder me. Quite unsuspecting, I was sitting in the inner room of the house when Clark and Jensen rushed in, each with a lantern in one hand and a revolver in the other. As soon as I began to grasp what it was all about we all went out to look for Maneraitsiaq, who in the meantime had disappeared, so I went with Clark up to his house and remained there an hour or so.

The episode had quite gone out of my mind, but as I was on my way back home I caught sight of Maneraitsiaq who, with his wife, came running towards me. I had nothing on but my underclothing, a form of undress we often used when we were to stay in a stove-heated room after living a long time out in the open air. There was a stiff breeze blowing, snow was drifting, and it was bitterly cold. I was alone and unarmed, and at once realized the seriousness of the situation. I had time enough to run back to Clark's house if I wanted to, but I was aware that if I displayed the least indication of fear I would for ever 'lose caste' in the eyes of these people. So I stood calmly and waited for these two raging natives, who were so excited that they could scarcely speak. A moment later the man's upgrown son joined them, and the odds were thus three to one against me. I knew that Maneraitsiaq had a knife up his sleeve, and that the usual mode of attack was for the woman to throw her arms about one's neck, and the moment one tries to push her off the knife is thrust into the armpit. I had to concentrate all my attention on this fury, who was simply waiting for me to give her an opening. Luckily I succeeded in preserving complete calm, both in manner [21] and voice. I was clad

solely in woollen vest and pants and so they had no dificulty [sic] in ascertaining that I was quite unarmed. I maintained the anger I had previously given vent to, but at the same time tried to explain that anger was not always synonymous with a desire to kill.

Maneraitsiaq's argument was that a dog was a being so far beneath a man that one had no right to scold on account of one of these animals. And he claimed that he was bound to assume, after what I had said to him, that I would take the first opportunity of killing him; this seemed to imply that he was now about to seize the occasion to forestall me. Never have I spoken to a mind that was so completely unsuspectible to reason as that, and all the while time was passing. Half naked as I was, I could feel my body was gradually stiffening with cold, and yet I could make no impression upon my opponents, who incessantly tried to force me into a corner of Clark's house. And just when in desperation I thought it best to take the initiative myself and attack while there was still some life left in my arms, Rudolph Jensen came out of the house. Maneraitsiaq and his wife seemed to calm down at once, and when we succeeded in getting them to come in to Clark's house with us, it turned out that they had kept me out in the snow-storm almost half an hour.

Afterwards Maneraitsiaq acted as if nothing had happened and often called at my house. His offended anger was gone and there was no hatred between us. He later on confided to me that his mind had been sick with shame at the lecture I had given him, and in this I believe he hit upon just the right words.

All the same, my life hung by a hair; that I was not struck down was exclusively due to my calmness and that I was able to keep my opponents away from me. There was no evil in that attack; it was nothing more or less than an unhinged mind that nearly blundered. But I was an experience the richer, and afterwards was a little more cautious about setting a match to these powder barrels."

3: Rasmussen--21-22 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 115, 124

"Talks with Shamans.

My familiarity with the habits and customs of other Eskimo groups always quickly brought me into contact with the wise men of the villages; and there, as in all other cases, it was always the shamans. As regards the Umingmaktôrmiut I devoted myself especially to Hêq and his son Tatilgak; the old man was, I should say, sixty to sixty-five years old, and his son about twenty years younger. They were [22] both hunters of high standing, and their authority within the group was great. As a rule our talks went on in the presence of Netsit who, despite his 25 years, knew a great deal about beliefs and traditions; the explanation of this was that he had been brought up by an old shaman, Ilatsiaq, who up to his death had instructed his foster son 'in that which was hidden to the eyes of others.'

The information I secured from these three men has been drawn together in the following, although in all essentials their own expressions are rendered in their original form. In order to avoid unnecessary repetitions of what has already been recorded from the Iglulingmiut, Pâtlermiut and Netsilingmiut, I have included only what is characteristic of the Umingmaktôrmiut, ignoring matters that are common to them all and in any case of a more general nature."

3: Rasmussen--22 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 772, 823

"The great world in which mankind lives consists of nuna, tArajɔq and hila.

nuna is the world itself. It stretches without end far out to the north and to the south, to the west and to the east. Of this enormous world we only know the lands that border upon the districts where we hunt the caribou; but we know that far, far to the north there is a land, qai^{s}huit'ɔq, where it is quite dark in winter and very, very cold. People live there too; they are called qai^{s}huit'ɔrmiut. To the south are the warm and bright lands, where winter is short and where big trees, napA'rtut, can grow; that is itqil'it nunain: the Land of the Indians, and to the south of that again is qatlunain nuna'n: the Land of the White Men. It is not only men and women who live on nuna; there are many different kinds of spirits too, and mankind has to take notice of them all. And nuna herself has her own spirit, who does not like people to busy themselves too much with earth and stones, especially while the caribou are wandering if people work to [sic] much with the earth in that period, the spirit of the world makes the caribou disappear and man has to starve.

tArajɔq is the salt sea that washes against nuna; there live the seals that are hunted from the breathing holes when the ice comes. Like nuna, the sea has its spirits, which demand great respect from both hunters and women. The mightiest of all these spirits is Arnakäp^{s}ha'luk, who is the mother and guardian of the sea beasts."

3: Rasmussen--22-24 (c. 1923) 1932 ND9 Copper Eskimo -1-3
116, 772, 823

"hila is all that space above nuna and tArajoq. [MPK: earth and sea] hila is held up by immense pillars that stand out at the ends of the world in the four corners of the wind; its uppermost arch is called qilƛk: the sky.

hila is not empty space as one might think; it is the dwelling [23] place of hilƛp inue, supernatural beings who all seem to be united through a great power: hilƛp inua itself: the spirit of hila. It governs the weather that makes it possible for people to live. It is not only the cause of the good weather that allows a man to go hunting, but bad weather too, especially blizzards, which cause the dwellers of the earth to suffer want.

Up in qilƛk live the sun, the moon and the stars; these are all people who once died a 'supernatural', an inexplicable or a violent death and who in death have become shining spirits. The sun is a woman, the moon a man. The stars are almost all men, dogs, bears or caribou.

The Moon Spirit is the one that is easiest to sea; for at the time of full moon the shadow of a man and his dog stands out clearly in the lunar circle.

The aurora borealis is called ArᶜhArneq or Arᶜhƛt. It is personified in a powerful spirit who is in great demand as a helping spirit for the best shamans. We believe that the aurora borealis is alive just as men and women are; for if you whistle at it, it crackles and comes nearer. But if you spit at it, it all runs together in the middle and forms another picture. It is just as if it understood people and did what they wanted it to do.

3: Rasmussen--22-24 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-2
116, 772, 823

The rainbow is called ajakutA´q. When the rainbow is very high with steep sides it means happiness for all; but if it is not high, and its arc is flat, it means disaster and someone will die.

Sometimes a ring forms round the sun; it is called qilauta´: the drum of the sun; for it forms a figure round about the sun just like the drum used in the festival house. We do not quite know what this means; some believe that, simply because it resembles the drum we dance to, the sun drum is an omen of something pleasant that will happen.

If it is not a ring, but only an arc that forms round the sun it is called natainEq, which is thought to mean a part of the wooden rim of the drum. This, then, means that somebody has died.

Up among the stars are lemmings with double claws; they are called kuke´ qalEre´t: those that have two layers of claws, one above the other. When these fall from the sky they are found down on the earth, either dead or alive. Hêq and Netsit, who tell me about this, have both caught these sky-lemmings. In fact it is said that once while the great shaman Ilatsiaq was walking out on the ice, one of these sky-lemmings fell on his back, and this made him a very great shaman. The three stars in Orion are called the little hunters. It is said that three men who were pursuing a bear suddenly rose from the ground and rushed up to the sky. [24] Here, as elsewhere, the planet Venus is called the great star that rises red in the sky.

Shooting stars are excrements falling from the stars, and are therefore called: a star's excrement. A meteor, on the other hand, is called fire.

Thunder is caused by some small birds, a little larger than black-billed plovers, with feathers that look as if they had been scorched by fire. When these birds begin to sing their thunder-song it sometimes happens that the sky is suddenly darkened and lightning flies out of their beaks. These birds are called kagluk."

3: Rasmussen--24-25 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-3
116, 776, 784

"Arnakăp°ha'luk: the big, bad woman, is the origin of all taboo. Of all the spirits, people are most afraid of her. She lives on a rock at the bottom of the sea in a little bubble. There she lives with her husband and a small child. She is sovereign over all the sea beasts and therefore is particularly feared in winter, when the ice comes and sealing begins.

Should it happen that people break their taboo -- she is especially touchy about unclean women -- she gathers up all the women's sewing things and the men's work and covers the seals over with them so that they cannot get out. All the sea beasts can be hidden under her side-platform, and they are shut up there when a taboo has been broken, the space under the side-platform then being blocked up with the work that was done under the taboo. This does not mean literally the sewing materials or the implements or tools that the men have worked with, but simply the souls of these things. The materials remain with the people and they do not notice that their souls are being piled up in the house of the Sea Woman. But suddenly hunting fails, and then the people can only be saved if a shaman forces [MPK: Sea Woman] up to the top of the sea.

It is said that whenever people are in need and sit in darkness because they have no blubber for their lamps, the lamp in the house of the Sea Woman goes out too. This means that she herself will feel it when people begin to suffer. It is believed that, in her passion, she desires the same troubles as those the people have brought upon themselves on account of their disobedience. This belief is peculiar to the Umingmaktôrmiut.

3: Rasmussen--24-25 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-2
116, 776, 784

The manner of invoking her is this: all the people of the village gather in a qag^{s}je out on the ice. When all are there, the shaman comes in and makes a hole inside the hut with a snow-beater. This hole must be to the right of the entrance opening. Over this small [25]hole is laid a caribou-skin jacket belonging to a man who is closely associated with the shaman and a good friend of his. The shaman then gets on his knees under the jacket, his elbows resting on the floor, and gazes fixedly into the hole made by the snow-beater. This hole is just like a seal's breathing hole, and the idea is that [MPK: Sea Woman] should come up through it. As soon as the shaman's preparations get to this stage, all those in the qag^{s}je join in the famous hymn that is to rise with irresistible power from inside the people like a nivjalu't: a religious song of the same kind as a magic song. It is sung in a monotonous, slow and very solemn melody with the following words:

Hymn for summoning up from the deep. [MPK: The interlinear Eskimo text has been omitted.]

Great woman down there
Will she, I wonder, feel a desire to move?
Great woman down there
Will she, I wonder, feel a desire to move?

Will she, I wonder, feel a desire to move?
Come out, you, down there,
Come out, you, down there!
Those who live above you, it is said,
Call you
To see you, savage and snappish,
Come out, you down there "

3: Rasmussen--25-27 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-3
116, 776, 787

"The following is a description of what happened at such a [MPK: shamanistic] seance:
They continued to repeat these words [MPK: of the summoning hymn] until at last the shaman announced that Arnakăp^{s}ha·luk [MPK: Sea Woman] was approaching, and that all the men in the qag^{s}je should hold on to him. They immediately threw themselves upon him, for now the Sea Woman had beset him, that is to say her soul had taken up its residence in his body, and she now [26] spoke in a deep voice through the shaman. As a rule she would tell them that the bad hunting was the result of some taboo having been broken, and that the constantly bad weather was due to people's indifference to the traditions of their ancestors. Scarcely had she launched these accusations when the women in their fear began to confess the breaches of taboo they had committed, the men meanwhile fighting desparately [sic] with [MPK: Sea Woman] who had quite taken possession of the shaman's body. He writhed in pain, struck out with his fists and moaned incessantly. They kept a firm hold on him and took care especially that he did not lift his head, as the spirit of the air is capricious and the houses of men only frail. They were afraid that the Sea Woman would level the qag^{s}je with the ice and let loose fierce storms, and this was certain to happen if the shaman merely raised his head a little. Then, as soon as women and men had confessed all, the shaman cried in a loud voice that [MPK: Sea Woman] lamp was once more turned the right way up -- indicating that as long as bad hunting lasted the lamp always stood bottom upwards, extinguished and dark. Shortly afterwards the shaman, who was still fighting with the Sea Woman, shouted that now her hair was

smooth and clean again; for as long as all sins are not confessed her hair is usually in the wildest disorder. Only when everything has been put in order again does [MPK: Sea Woman] return to her house by the same route as she has come. A little later the crying of a child was heard, and up through the same hole in the floor of the hut came the child from the bottom of the sea, entered the body of the shaman and spoke through his mouth. It cried, and said that [MPK: Sea Woman] had struck it on the head with a caribou antler because it had let the beasts get out to the people. The child spoke through the shaman with the same deep voice as its mother, for all those from the bottom of the sea speak with a deep voice. Then the child disappeared, and it was now igpiArjuk's turn to appear in the same manner as the others had done. He, too, complained that he had been misused because he had helped to release the seals. Then he disappeared into the depths and the seance was over. The beasts had come back to be hunted by the people of the village.

It is said that [MPK: Sea Woman] comes riding up to the qag^{s}je on a seal; this opens a way up to the surface of the sea, and it remains open just like a tube, so that both her child and her husband can easily make the journey up to the surface alone.

For four days after [MPK: Sea Woman] has been called up to the qag^{c}je no woman must sew and no man must do any work whatever; no block of snow must be cut and no one must drive a sledge. If the men go out to the breathing holes they must walk, and, if [27] they catch a seal, there must be no eating of its liver out on the ice as is the usual custom.

In answer to a question it is expressly averred that it has been forgotten how [MPK: Sea Woman] originally got to the bottom of the sea. All that is known is that she has always been there.

[MPK: Sea Woman] is also called a giver of strength, because she gives people sea beasts if only they do not break their taboo."

3: Rasmussen--27 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 791, 868

"A would-be shaman must be made suitable right from birth. Even as soon as the afterbirth has been extruded the infant is lifted up and allowed to look through it, a ceremony that gives the child second sight. Later on such children are called: taRak'ut ihilgit, i. e. those who have eyes in the dark. Later on, when they are grown up, they do various tricks as proof of the powers they have received through their special initiation. Meat or liver, for instance, which they had eaten would sometimes not pass the usual channels through the rectum, but came out through the navel, masticated but not digested. In such cases the audience was allowed to pick the pieces of chewed meat from the trouser band beside the navel.

The child who was chosen and wedded to the shaman's art soon became haunted by dreams. The dreams had always to be revealed to the people of the village, and were then interpreted as particular and strange omens; and it was on these dreams that the shamans built up their special knowledge of all those things that are hidden to ordinary people. The explanation of it all was 'These children, who were to have visions in the wastes, where there were no people, the shamans used to busy themselves with in order to teach them; for the helping spirits, who were the spirits of the air, often went back into the sky again'. By this was meant that it was always hard to get helping spirits that would remain, as very often they would return to the skies without taking up residence in the breast of the shamans."

3: Rasmussen--27-28 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 791

"A shaman is also called: i.e. 'one who has eyes', and his helping spirits nakɔrutit. In contrast to the shamans ordinary people are called inuin'ait. Shaman disciples: had never to eat the brains of seals or seal foetus, for if they did they would lose their power of seeing. These things were laid at ijErihat's door: 'forbidden things, from which a shaman should abstain.' [28]

The spirits of the air, they said, saw the shamans in the form of shining bodies that attracted and drew them and made them wish to go and live in them and give them their own strength, sight and knowledge. When such a spirit beset a shaman it went in by the navel and found a place in the breast cavity, whence it inspired him. Compared with the shining shamans ordinary people are like houses with extinguished lamps: they are dark inside and do not attract the attention of the spirits.

Shamans, they said, got their helping spirits from the following places: the earth's surface, the earth's inside, out from space; out from the borders between earth and the sky."

3: Rasmussen--28 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 756, 791

"The functions of shamans were:

To cure the sick.

When a person became ill and could not get well again, a present was taken to a shaman, preferably some costly object like a dog, a sledge, a gun or a knife. It was then his duty to hold a seance in the house of the sick. in order to clear up the cause of the illness. If only the cause of the ailment were discovered it was usually considered to be synonymous with a cure. In most cases the cause was evil spirits, which for some reason or other had attacked the person, or it may have been a breach of taboo."

3: Rasmussen--28-29 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 789, 791, 821

"[MPK: The functions of the shaman were:] To propitiate storms and bad weather.

In the case of a long period of bad weather, especially in winter when snow storms put a stop to hunting of all kinds, the shamans would act as subduers of the weather. This was the way it was done: the people gathered in the qag^{s}je, after which one or two shamans ran out into the open air with their upper bodies bare except for a head-band made of the long breast hair of the caribou. The cause of continuous bad weather with blizzards was that the weather's opening, had been left ajar, and through the opening streamed the storm; when the shamans run up against the wind, naked as they are, it is their task to close up the hole in hila. [MPK: the weather] This is often done with the aid of helping spirits, and then the weather's opening has to be bound up with the shaman's head-band. As soon as this is done the storm will cease.

It will be noticed that among the Umingmaktôrmiut there is constant reference to the weather's opening, just as if it were something [29] that could be opened and closed from space -- an entrance hole or the like. Among the other groups that have previously been described it is the usual belief that the spirit of hila is personified in the infant, who lives out in space. When the child's napkin loosens the wind begins to blow, and therefore the shaman has to go up and put it right."

3: Rasmussen--29 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 789, 791

"[MPK: The functions of the shaman were:]
To attack and kill evil spirits.

It sometimes happens that a village is attacked by evil spirits that have come out of graves. Of these evil spirits, it is said that they are the souls of the dead, which turn wicked with age. These evil spirits can be killed by a shaman either in the qag°je itself or out in the entrance passage. As a rule this is done with a snow-beater, which for this purpose must always be of hard wood, in contrast to orpiqAq, which is of willow. Armed with this snow-beater the shaman fights with the spirits -- invisible as they are to ordinary people, with the result that the snow-beater becomes covered with blood. Especially skilful shamans can also fight them with their bare fists."

3: Rasmussen--29-30 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-2
116, 22, 789, 791

"[MPK: The functions of the shaman were:]

To procure animals for hunting.

This can be done by means of a very simple seance, in which the shaman merely gives the people of the village an opportunity to confess the various taboos they have broken. It is not always necessary to call [MPK: Sea Woman] up to the snow hut.

In addition to these public obligations, every shaman is fond of demonstrating his powers by doing tricks. One favourite trick is to hold a seal thong in the hand in the qag^{G}je and let it be severed before the eyes of everybody there; after many mysterious manipulations the thong is then shown to be whole and uncut.

I have myself seen this trick performed on many occasions, and noticed that besides the whole thong, the shaman had a short line of just the same thickness and appearance. It was this line that he allowed someone in the qag^{G}je to cut, and, while working to make it whole again it was never difficult to conceal the severed piece in his clothing.

There are many ways of proving that one is in communication with helping spirits. It is a very common thing that when a thong is thrown from the inside of the qag^{G}je out through the passage, it is seized by one or more spirits outside. As soon as the line is taut the [30] shaman gets people inside to haul on to the other end of it, and sometimes the spirits show that their strength is enormous.

Another favourite trick is to hold a mitten on the end of a snow beater out into the

passage and, when the beater is withdrawn, the mitten is no longer there. If it is stuck out again, the mitten reappears on it.

During one of these demonstrations at which I was present, one of the members of my expedition came unexpectedly into the passage where the spirits were supposed to be, and there he saw two men -- the shaman's assistants -- hastily conceal themselves in an offshoot from the passage."

"At Malerualik I had the opportunity of seeing a number of seances with shamans. They were all extremely naive and easily seen through if one watched at all critically. I was mostly impressed by the manner in which the shamans tried to get into touch with their helping spirits. Qagtaq, for instance, often shamanized in a snow hut lying next door to ours. While people sat expectantly inside the hut, tense with the uncanniness of the scene and gripped by the mysteriousness of the unknown, Qagtaq was wandering about half-naked in the snow-storm outside for the purpose of getting inspiration; sometimes he would lie in a snow drift, and half naked as he was, he naturally soon got into a miserable condition. After a little while he would go into the snow hut, shivering and wretched; he was then in a state of great excitement, looked round in a bewildered manner, and then started to tell about his visions out there in the snow-storm, speaking in riddles and often entirely incomprehensibly, in a high, shrill falsetto. All one could understand was that he had seen both dead and spirits. His sentences were interrupted by wild howls, and old women, stretching their imagination to the utmost, tried to reconstruct their meaning. The women, who had had much experience of shamanizing, drew upon a very lively fantasy, and all their suggested interpretations of Qagtaq's mystic oracular words finally built up so much material to work upon, that at last it was possible to construct an account of what it was the spirits had said through the shaman. Thus it was more a reconstruction based upon guesswork than an actual announcement.

3: Rasmussen--30-31 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-2
116, 787, 791

One young woman, Taiphuina, who seemed to be very intelligent, had once been a shaman disciple buy had given it up, as she 'could not lie well enough'. The shamans sought in vain to encourage her, saying 'Once you start trying, and people are listening, you can almost always hit upon something.' But it was all of no use.

Taiphuina's candid admission, given in answer to some questions I put to her, aroused great merriment among the people, where there [31] were several shamans -- in fact it was they who laughed heartiest; for they knew that people were so enthralled by all that is incomprehensible between earth and sky that nothing could shake the faith of their audience when a real seance was going on, no matter what was said.

All the seances I attended while with the Umingmaktôrmiut were extremely naive in tendency and performance. I was only at Agiaq that, during the course of a protracted snow storm, I was present at a seance that was so well thought out and performed that it really made an impression upon me. Otherwise during all seances and demonstrations the audience is credited with almost fabulous faith in the trustworthiness of the shaman and the actual presence of the spirits; to those who did not share this faith it was impossible to retain the illusion that it was higher powers that were signifying their existence. In addition, their conjuring tricks were so childish and so perfectly easy to see through that the critical looker-on could only feel astonishment that they could be taken seriously at all. It is only the psyche of the shaman and his audience that prevent the whole show from being reduced to humbug and deceit. And of this there is no question.

3: Rasmussen--30-31 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-3
116, 787, 791

For the shamans themselves consider their various tricks to be means that bring them in touch with the spirits. The relationship between the natural and the supernatural is in itself so problematic that it is of no consequence if there is some 'cheating' in the ritual during an invocation."

"As has already been said, the shamans get their helping spirits almost exclusively from among the hilăp inue, who are the spirits of the air. What sort of beings these really are is difficult to explain. They only know that there are many, and many different kinds of spirits. The famous old shaman Ilatsiaq had helping spirits that were from the aurora borealis. hilăp inue need not necessarily live out in space always; they have merely to live out in the open, and not in houses like ordinary people. As examples of spirits of this kind there is the Claw Troll, who is as big as a human being but furnished with long and sharp claws, very much like the claws of a seal. And finally, hilăp inue need not always be dangerous monsters such as giants and trolls; they may look just like ordinary people and yet be spirits. For instance, once when old Hêq was fishing for trout in a river he quite unexpectedly saw some hilăp inue who resembled just everyday people; there were a man and his wife and their little child. All three were clad in salmon skin, but otherwise [32] there was nothing unusual about them. They drew Hêq's attention to their clothing themselves, and said that they used the skins of salt-water trout because they had nothing else. They lived underground in holes, just as lemmings and marmots do; their language and their speech were just like a human being's. The man's name was Kivfarina and the woman's Unermiana, while the son's name was Tagsjuana. In ordinary people's language these names might be translated 'the serving one', 'the one who can be carried on the shoulders', and 'the

one who must be guided'. All three words are very ancient forms of the language used today. They caught salmon with the hook-spear, which otherwise is not the custom among the Umingmaktôrmiut. When Hêq, who of course was a shaman, was out on the ice alone, they brought him trout out of their catch and thus became his helping spirits. Quite apart from the fact that they were not real people, their lives, their pleasures and their sorrows seemed to be quite the same as ordinary people's, but in some strange manner they seemed to be closely associated with hila, the weather."

3: Rasmussen--33 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 775

"They would not venture to say anything definitive about what becomes of people when they die. The old people, however, have a tradition to the effect that those who have lived at peace with their fellows, and especially been good to the lonely and orphaned, go up to a bright land. They are taken there by hilăp inua, [MPK: Spirits of the air] and those who go there are called 'those who know how to feel pity'. năglitajuitjut are those who have no feelings for their fellow beings and go to a dark land where there is neither water nor food."

3: Rasmussen--32 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 787

"divination by lifting.

"It is possible, without holding a special seance, to consult the spirits by means of the so-called qilanEq, already well-known from the previous descriptions of other Eskimo groups. The person through whom the spirits are to speak, qilâ, is laid on the platform with an under jacket under his or her head; qilajəq, the one who is to consult the spirits, then says: 'Let a spirit whom one may consult, let a spirit whom one may consult, be brought here.' When this has been repeated often enough qila' becomes heavy. qilajəq, who holds a thong tied round one of qila's legs, can no longer lift the leg, and must then cry: take take , 'Just look, just look! Now try to tell us something, you who usually come to us.'

It is the helping spirits that come when thus called, and the one who calls them can get them to answer, though only through his own questions, for the spirits only answer yes or no during qilanEq. They answer yes by making qila' heavy, and no by making it light. Instead of a human being qilâ [MPK: The different phonetic symbols used with this word are not explained.] may also be a special spirit stick, although among the Umingmaktôrmiut this form seems to be rare. Both shamans and the uninitiated can commune with the spirits in this manner."

3: Rasmussen--33-34 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-2
116, 775

"The tale of The Sun and the Moon -- as related by the Netsilik Eskimos -- is known, though nowadays the details are only vaguely remembered. A little girl, it is said, was once sent from one house to another in a village to get some meat, and was taken away by the moon up to his house in the sky. It is from this girl that they know how the moon and the sun live in a double house. The girl did not stay long in the Land of the Sky for the sun became jealous and quickly sent her back to earth again.

They have no tradition of shamans having visited the moon or the Land of the Dead; yet they have heard tell that helping spirits have been able to travel there.

As to the moon itself they have surprisingly few traditions, and it seems to have no special functions, neither with regard to game nor unclean women.

The death of a person is due to the theft of his soul by evil spirits.

Should it happen that a sick person is entirely surrounded by evil spirits a shaman's nakErutit can do nothing, and death must ensue.

To my own astonishment this is all I have been able to glean about life after death. All that could in fact be said was that they believed in a life after death, but in what form, or where, they were unable to say. In vain I explained what is commonly believed among other Eskimos -- that life perhaps is continued in a 'Land of the Sky' or a kind of 'Underworld' below the earth with abounding hunting grounds. To this they all consistently averred that they knew nothing. They would say no more than that the soul lived on

after the death of the body, perhaps in another person called after the deceased when the Name-Soul came to dwell in the body of the child. Or perhaps in another animal. They could say nothing.

Some years prior to our coming an English missionary had travelled through part of the territory of the Copper Eskimos, and wherever he had been able to get he had attempted to preach the Gospel. I believe that this missionary's teachings are at the bottom [34] of what they told me, that 'they who know how to feel pity' go up to a bright land after death, whereas those who are not good to the lonely and orphaned go to a dark land where there is no food or drink. For a punishment after death is quite un-Eskimo.

The Umingmaktôrmiut, like all their kinsmen, undoubtedly have once had views of life after death which, with local peculiarities, have been the same as those we know from Hudson Bay, Barren Grounds and the regions round the magnetic north pole."

"inuAruvligkät are the commonest spirits and helping spirits. They are considered to be good hunters, having bows that are larger than they are themselves. The traditions very closely resemble those of the Netsilingmiut. Nevertheless, they know nothing of their having a stick with which they can kill every living thing, or that they curl the earth up when going on a long journey. It is commonly believed that the inuAruvligkät have the special property of letting things that are small grow and become large to suit their own requirements. In a mountain lake on the island of Ikijugtivilik there is a house, a tiny one, that is attributed to these mountain spirits. The house is said to stand up on a cliff inside a crevice. The entrance is so small that a man cannot put his head inside. And yet from the outside one can see that the house widens out inside the grotto. A man named Alik once tried to put his head in through the opening to have a look at this dwarf's house, but the inhabitants made the opening close up by magic, and Alik could not get his head out again. His life was only saved by his companions' breaking a large piece out of the cliff to release him. Nevertheless, Alik had had time to see the entire arrangement of the house, with its platform and everything. But since then no one had dared to peep into the mountain.

Strangely enough, my informants Hêq and Netsit declared that they knew nothing of ijErqät. All the same, I am inclined to think that they misunderstood my question, and

that they meant they had nothing particular to tell about these spirits; for they are so generally known among all other Eskimo groups that they cannot have sunk entirely into oblivion among the Umingmaktôrmiut.

igngrjuAq is only known as the name of a certain spirit that once used to help a shaman. They seem to have been quite forgotten in the usual sense of 'fire spirits' or 'beach spirits'.

One-eyed giants are known by hearsay and are looked upon as dangerous and frightful; the eye is said to be in the side of the head. They also know a kind of spirit with no eye at all."

"They have heard of dwarf seals, which are thought to live in the great lake of the Netsilik: Willerstedt Lake. These seals are quite small but otherwise just like other seals. They are no bigger than that they can be carried in a game bag, and yet the old bull seals smell just the same as real old bull seals.

In former times animals in human form were very common. Then they lived just like men as long as they were in human form. In more recent times they only know of cases of wolves and wolverines having been met in human form by a shaman. A wolverine had a wolf for his wife, and the shaman heard the wife scolding her husband because he could not lift the same heavy burdens that she could. In olden times, too, everybody could easily turn into animals, and until quite recently shamans have had the same powers. Thus before the eyes of the whole village Hêq's father was able to turn himself into a polar bear. The secret of doing this has now been lost. All that remains may be classified among the demonstration tricks of the shamans: an ermine skin is displayed by a shaman; it is then laid in under the platform, and shortly afterwards, they say, an ermine comes leaping out on to the floor. I have not seen this demonstration, but I have seen shamans turn into wolves or polar bears. This transformation was more than naïve, and was nothing more than suddenly letting wolf or bear teeth 'grow out of their mouth' during a seance. They had concealed the teeth in their clothing, and once in the mouth, it was all they could do to prevent them falling out again. Nevertheless,

the people firmly believed that the spirit of a bear or a wolf had beset the shaman. After the seance the teeth were skilfully ejected and hidden away again."

3: Rasmussen--35-36 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 776

"There are spirits of a remarkable kind: the chinless ones. They are dangerous, and sometimes kill people; on the other hand they are in great demand as helping spirits, when they are very useful.

'The one with the hook' is one of the hilăp inue that are feared. Sometimes it attacks snow huts without letting itself be seen; it never speaks, and one can only hear its creaking in the snow out in the entrance passage. At times it causes the whole passage wall to collapse. When this happens, everybody in the snow hut has to howl as loud as he can, one against the other, to drive it away. When a nighilik has been driven away in this manner the women must not sew, nor the men do any work, for one or two days.

hilA'q is a supernatural monster, a spirit in the form of a black bear, enormous and powerful. It can only seen [sic] by shamans, who have it as a helping spirit, and when it appears its big teeth can be seen [36] in a big grin. This should be compared with the Iglulingmiut's sila't, who are said to come from large white eggs in the ground; they were made like caribou, but with large snouts, hair like lemmings, and as big as umiaks, with legs like tent poles.

If a house is visited by evil spirits and the dogs start to bark, which is always a sure sign of the presence of spirits, they put two pieces of wick-moss up against the window, and all the people gather in the threatened house to exorcise the spirits. For evil spirits they use small miniature knives of wood, with which they make passes in the air."

3: Rasmussen--36 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 784

"In this chapter, as in those to follow, I have adhered to the statements made by the shamans named in the foregoing. I repeat, that especial weight has been attached to recording all the customs that are peculiar to the Umingmaktôrmiut, whereas the broad outlines in all matters of religion are the same as among the Netsilik Eskimos.

Hêq the shaman summed up his view of life in the following brief creed: [MPK: rendered in native language-not reproduced for file]

Netsit expressed himself in practically the same way, but, despite the similarity, I reproduce his words too because these introductory explanations are the foundation of their religious ideas:

'Among us, people usually refrain from certain things and observe certain customs because they are afraid of hila: the spirit of the weather or air, who is also called qakimna: the one up there, niptailAq: falling snow, anin'ailAq: the reason why one cannot get out of house or tent. If people did not keep to these customs the woman who guards the seals at the bottom of the sea would get the idea that hila was offended at her, and she would then hide the seals under her side-platform, so that man would have no animals to hunt.'

This idea is peculiar, because it makes hila a chief of whom the Sea Spirit is afraid and therefore holds in reverence."

3: Rasmussen--37-38 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo -1-3
116, 784, 225

"No woman may do any sewing on the day her husband catches a seal. Before the seal has been flensed no sewing must be done at all in the house to which it is taken. When it has been flensed women may usually sew in that house on the same day, but the wife of the man who caught it must wait till the next day, unless its head has been boiled, as this exempts her from the taboo.

As long as a seal lies unflensed in a house the rime must not be scraped off the pane of ice that forms the window. Indeed, one must always be careful about rime on ice panes in conjunction with seals; for instance the rime must not fall on the floor at a place where there is the blood of a seal. If it does happen, the man who caught the seal will lose his next quarry. In fact, the rime must not be scraped off at all as long as there is fresh seal blood in the house. Only when all the blood has been taken out through the passage may this be done if necessary.

As long as un unflensed seal is in the house the platform skin must not be shaken out over the floor; nor must anyone rearrange the plaited willow twigs that form the under-layer. Care must be taken that no oil drips on to the floor, and no work may be done in iron, wood or stone.

People hunting the seal from snow huts on the sea ice must not work in soapstone. They say: The weather or the blizzard --helpless because of this soapstone one usually bewares of out on the sea ice; for there is much smoke or fog in it (the soapstone).

When living at a place where the caribou cross the water, and the site has been used as a camping ground for years past, with the result that the vegetation is very luxuriant on account of human manure, women must not sew seal skin unless they have first laid a small unstitched kamik in miniature under a stone, kamik and stone being bound together by means of a thong. This done, they may sew seal skin provided they go a short distance away from the tent.

A seal must have water as soon as it is brought inside a house. The water is allowed to fall in drops into its mouth. This is an offering to the seal.

A boy's first seal must be flensed by all the women of the village; his mother, however, simply binds her waistbelt round the seal's head and lifts it, for the head may only fall to her. While the women are flensing the carcase they have to repeat again and again: 'Move further away, move further away', pushing at one another and each trying to get the largest pieces. This race to get a part of a boy's kill brings luck. A boy whose first seal [38] is handled in this manner is called : One with flensing pieces; for it is not every boy's kill that goes through this treatment.

There are various customs besides. The first kill of some boys must not be flensed at once, but must lie in the house for some time, over by the side platform; this only means a few hours, however--never the whole night. They have a special expression for such a seal: 'the one that is laid across (i. e. the floor), as it has to be laid pointing out

from the side platform, and not out from the main platform as it would be if it had to be flensed at once."

3: Rasmussen--38 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 294, 784

"Seal sinews are never used for sewing purposes, as they are so short that people say the seals are ashamed of them. The Puivlermiut form an exception to this rule, however, for in former times they used to make their seal-skin clothing with seal sinews."

3: Rasmussen--38 [2] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 264, 784

"Cod must never be eaten together with the blubber of a bearded seal, nor blubber that has been stored in bags of seal skin since the previous spring."

3: Rasmussen--38 [3] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 294, 784

"Among the Umingmaktôrmiut there is no taboo against making garments of caribou skin in autumn, as among the Aivilingmiut, Iglulingmiut, Caribou Eskimos and Netsilingmiut. I made exhaustive enquiries as to this among several old people, so that there can be no misunderstanding. This of course does not mean that the people start making clothes on any large scale while living in the tents while the caribou are still migrating. For practical reasons they wait to do so until they have moved into the snow huts; there the making of winter clothing goes on. In comparison it will be remembered how the Netsilingmiut went about in rags right up to the time when they moved into the snow huts."

3: Rasmussen--38 [4] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 225, 784

"The reason why the Umingmaktôrmiut do not take things so strictly in this respect is that the ice from which they hunt the seal is not destroyed by the currents and therefore is not considered to be dangerous. And what is more, their sealing grounds are for the greater part of the year up in the fjords, where the ice is never liable to drift out to sea; this has given them a feeling of security and slackened their respect for this taboo, which elsewhere is so carefully observed."

3: Rasmussen--38 [5] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 294, 784

"The only strict taboo against sewing applies to animals with the coat of hair that is called kaŋalalgit: animals with uncast coat, which have been shot in spring while there was still ice on the sea. These skins may be made into clothing before the new ice forms, but never after.

Nor is there any strict taboo against sewing even new skins during migration time in spring and summer, or against working in stone or with stone during that period -- a taboo that is observed at all times among the Netsilingmiut."

3: Rasmussen--38-39 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 252, 784

"Fresh caribou meat must never lie on the side platform together [39] with seal meat or salmon trout. This does not apply to old, putrid caribou meat or dried meat.

There is no special taboo against cooking caribou meat over driftwood, which is not allowed in,some places; drift wood is considered as belonging to the salt water, which is not the caribou's own element. Nor is there anything against cooking caribou meat by means of blubber or old caribou bones; elsewhere this is said to offend the souls of the killed animals."

3: Rasmussen--39-40 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-2
116, 224, 784

"When a caribou killed by an arrow during a death taboo is to be cut up or eaten, care must be taken that no bone is broken. At the place where the carcase is cut up an offering must be made of small pieces of the kidneys, liver, belly meat, intestines, spleen and tongue, and the people must say: Let the spirits of the deep down there eat. They make this sacrifice in order that the spirits may be happy and get fresh animals ready for catching, or bring other game to the hunter.

When the animal is to be cut up a small piece of skin is cut from the groin. This is then placed on the ground under a stone and the following ritual repeated: here is something that can be nearest your body, something that can be soft and warm against your body; give me instead a caribou that I can bring down.

All the bones are only collected and hidden in the event that the man who killed the caribou is under a taboo.

Those who skin a caribou must never cut away the skin round the eyes, nor the skin round the end of the penis. Otherwise the soul of the caribou will feel shame, and this will bring bad luck to the hunter who killed it. For the same reason one must never cut away the skin from the outermost part of the caudal vertebra of a musk ox.

Should a hunter see two caribou fighing, [sic] with their antlers caught together, he must tighten his waistbelt and his kamik laces, and also fasten his hood tight round his neck after having thrown it back. The bulls then will not run away, and he can go right up to them and kill them. This is exactly the opposite of what one must do among the

3: Rasmussen--39-40 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-2
116, 224, 784

Iglulingmiut.

The first time a boy kills a caribou or seal, his mother must pretend to weep and wrestle with her son over the animal. Presumably this is done to give the impression to the soul of the animal that the mother is sorry it was killed. This sympathy will make it so pleased that it will often allow itself to be killed by the same boy later in life.

They know of no special taboo against white caribou, the so-called pukit, which by the way are very rare. Netsit once shot one with bow and arrow. It was very fat, and without further formality they [40] began to eat it; but the meat was almost uneatable, qijorhúnnigtorâluk: it tasted of piss, it being rutting time."

3: Rasmussen--40 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-2
116, 784

"When a man is sealing in a camp out on the sea ice, his wife must never cut up a caribou.

If a snow hut is to be deserted, the head of a newly-shot caribou--picked clean and well gnawed--must be laid out in the snow some distance from sledge and foot marks, its snout pointing in the direction in which new game will be sought.

Caribou and seal meat may be eaten on the same day.

If a polar bear or a black bear is caught, there must be no sewing, and no cutting of peat for sledge shoeing, for four days if it is a he bear and five days if it is a she bear. The skin is not hung up as is the custom elsewhere; nothing particular is done to it unless it is a she bear, in which case sewing needles are laid on it as an offering to its soul.

During a death taboo the dogs may only eat flesh and never gnaw the bones of game animals.

Under ordinary circumstances there is otherwise no taboo against dogs gnawing the bones of caribou, even if killed with the bow and arrow; the head is the only part the dogs must never have.

Dogs must never eat the flesh of a hare, for then they will become thin and their coat poor.

Salmon trout must never be eaten where they are caught, i.e. at the hole in the ice if the lake is covered, or alongside the open river. If one wants to eat it must be at some

distance away.

Great care must be taken never to sever the trachea of a salmon trout.

In spring, when the ice on the lakes is beginning to break up, seal blubber must never be eaten on the same day as trout. This does not apply in spring and winter.

If salmon trout are to be cooked in the same pot as seal or caribou meat, the pot must be very carefully washed and a little of the soot from it must be rubbed on the inside.

All footwear to be used when fishing for trout must be soled with seal skin, never with bearded-seal skin."

3: Rasmussen--40-41 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 844

"No special house is built for women about to bear children. The woman lies on the platform, leaning against another woman and supporting one arm on her shoulder. If the birth is difficult, a relative may hold the woman round the body and try to press the child out. The child must not be helped out, but must fall out itself, the mother being in a kneeling position. [41]

Women who have been confined are called nalilgit. This is the same word as pilgit and then means that women who have borne children have received a gift.

The place on the platform that is first touched by a new-born child, and where an extra caribou skin is laid, is called e'wik (=eju^{v}kArwik).

When a woman cannot bring her child with the aid of ordinary people she must be helped by a shaman, who then either pronounces magic words or exhorts the spirits.

Immediately after the birth the woman puts on her clothing and her kamiks, but does not at once go out into the open air; some remain inside a few days, others several days. They say they keep quietly at home in order to rest the lower part of their body. A piece of caribou skin is tied round the waist and loins and this is worn tight for some time. Such a woman is called nAqutilik: the one who has something that presses part of her in. After a birth the woman must pull her hood up over her head and keep it there for some days."

3: Rasmussen--41 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 846

"After confinement a woman does not cleanse herself immediately; if there is blood on her this may merely be wiped off with a piece of skin. She must make a fire under her cooking pot as quickly as possible after the event: her child will then walk early.

As soon as the child is put into the amaut the mother must say: may you quickly and always have meat."

3: Rasmussen--41 [2] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 844

"Children are not admitted to the tent or house where there is a woman in confinement; adults are not debarred. When children come out after having for the first time been in the house of a woman who has just had a child, they must stand outside the entrance passage, their heads turned towards it, and hop and dance first on one leg then on the other.

The navel cord is tied with plaited sinew thread. Afterwards it is cut without any particular ceremony, either with a knife or an ulo. A navel bandage of caribou skin is then put on. When the end of the navel cord falls off it is sewn on to the child's inner coat as an amulet: the knife or ulo used for cutting the cord is also preserved for the child to keep as an amulet when it grows up."

3: Rasmussen--41-42 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 846

"The new mother must have her own small drinking bowl, and the pot in which her food is cooked must not be sold as long as the child is growing. She may only eat from her own cooking pot and must not drink too much water, especially before the end of the navel cord has fallen off.

A woman with an infant child must never have an empty water pail--it should always be full of water, otherwise the child will some day suffer from thirst. [42]

Whenever a woman with a newly-born child is about to eat, she must cuf off a small piece of meat and rub it against the child's mouth, and then throw it behind the lamp. In this way she expresses her hope that the child may never want for food. A mother must continue to do this as long as her child cannot feed itself.

During the first period after a birth she must not cut up her own meat for cooking. There is no definite time for this, but it is usually a month.

Otherwise the taboo to be observed by women who have become mothers is very mild. They may sew, and they do not need to throw away the clothing they had when the child was born. The only rule with regard to sewing is that, before she begins, she must have drunk soup made from a seal or a caribou killed by her husband after the birth of the child."

3: Rasmussen--42 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 846

"A newly-born child is wiped with the forehead skin of a caribou or the skin of a great northern diver, gull or long-tailed duck.

It receives a special garment that is open at the front. To this garment belongs a cap, which may be loose or fastened to the garment. It also receives a thong for tying the napkin, which consists of a narrow piece of caribou skin.

The first garment is never thrown away, but is kept by the parents until the child is grown up. They have an idea that the life and vigour of the child are in some remarkable manner associated with this first covering.

If a child is especially welcome, and a magic song is to be composed over it, this must be done before the child has been given the breast.

When a woman who has had a child wants to eat intestines of some animal, they must not be cut over but split lengthwise so that she may chew and swallow them more easily. This custom must be observed as long as the child cannot feed itself.

New mothers may only drink tepid water."

3: Rasmussen--42 [2] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 553, 852

"The naming ceremony takes place immediately after birth. As a rule it is the father or grandmother who first lifts it up after it has been born, and in doing so they give it a name after some deceased relative. A special formula is required; for instance, if the boy is to be named Netsit they say: With strength from the one I have been named after, with strength from the one I have been named after, I who am so insignificant myself, may I soon be allowed to hunt. At the same time the child's name is uttered--boy or girl names being used regardless of sex."

3: Rasmussen--42-43 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-2
116, 846

"New mothers must not burn blubber for lamps shortly after their [43] child has been born; menstruating women are allowed to do so, however.

Very painstaking mothers must not be too immoderate when eating if they have a little son, as this will make him a heavy man, clumsy in running. But there is no rule that they may only have two meals a day.

The first food a child gets is a piece of meat to suck. There is no rule that a boy must first swallow a piece of fat in order to become a good runner.

Whenever small children have their kamiks put on they are massaged at the knees so that they may not have crooked legs.

Immediately a boy has been born its little arms are lifted in an attitude as if he were about to shoot an arrow at his mother's armpit. This will make him a clever archer.

'that which is like dirt ' on the head of a newly-born child must never be washed off, but must disappear of itself.

When boys see the new moon for the first time, they must run in for a scoop of musk-ox horn, put a little water in it, and then throw the water at the moon, at the same time praying for beasts to hunt.

The following ceremony is observed when some boys are born, as for instance when my informant Hêq came to the world. When he emerged from his mother's womb he had to be taken by a woman--in this case his father's other wife, who had the hair on her temples bound in hair sticks, and the hair on the crown of her head tied up in a knot so

that it looked like the horns of a caribou. This style of hair-dressing would give him especially good luck later on when hunting. When this 'midwife' received the child she had to say: this in order that you may resemble the man whose name you get.'"

3: Rasmussen--43-44 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 852

"In the case of boys with such a midwife the following had also to be observed when they made their first kill. When Netsit caught his first salmon trout the man with whom he was fishing had to put the fish down through the hole in his neck-band and take it out through the 'shit-hole' in the fork of his trousers that all children have until they are about ten years of age. When he got his first seal he had to fight with both his mother and his 'midwife'. The fight had to take place over the seal, and the hair of both women had to be tied up as the midwife's had been, with topknot and hair-sticks, when he was born. The same ceremony had to be followed when he killed his first caribou.

The first kill of such a boy had to be eaten of by everybody in the village except women under special taboo. To give him still more [44] luck the first woman who touched him had to have as amulets in the armhole of her inner coat the ears of the first seal and the first caribou he had killed, and also the sinew that connects the caribou's backbone with its hindquarters.

A boy who had passed through all these ceremonies would be a particularly lucky bull killer."

3: Rasmussen--44 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 583

"Children are betrothed at birth. If it happens that the girl lives at another village than the man who has been arranged for her, and she marries another before her rightful husband comes for her, the matter is settled in this way: She places herself outside the snow hut or tent, and the two men then have to contest for her, each taking hold of one shoulder of the woman. The one who is strongest and is able to pull the woman to him is allowed to keep her."

3: Rasmussen--44 [2] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 844

"When the afterbirth begins to come, the outer end must be made fast to one thigh with a plaited sinew thread to prevent it slipping in again. Afterwards, when it has emerged, it must be placed outside the tent or house where the dogs cannot get at it."

3: Rasmussen--44 [3] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 841

"A woman having her menses, or one who has a miscarriage, does not keep it secret, but she is not bound to tell anyone else than her husband; for she may pay visits and is not subjected to any especially strict taboo."

3: Rasmussen--44 [4] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 766

"If a child is stillborn or dies immediately after birth an easy kind of taboo should be observed. They say aglikArpăgtut, i. e. they hold a taboo that quickly comes and quickly goes.

On the other hand there is no death taboo for children deliberately killed, the so-called igitat: literally 'those thrown away'. As these children are strangled before they really have time to breathe properly, they are looked upon as not having lived at all.

Otherwise the taboo over the death of an infant is not difficult to observe; as a rule it means that the mother may not do any sewing until her husband has caught a seal or a caribou after the death. Until then she must also wear her hood over her head every time she goes out, it being considered unlucky for all game if such a woman comes into the open air with her head bare. There is no taboo against her eating raw meat of other hunters' catch, nor against intestines."

3: Rasmussen -44-45 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 763

"When a sick person is about to expire they say: the spirit of life is leaving him; he no longer breathes, he can no more be saved. At these words all the relatives must weep and utter cries of woe; it is then the custom that those not of the family take the mourners round the shoulders and [45] under the arms, saying in order to calm them: alas, nothing more can be done for him.

The custom of removing out of the house the platform skins and rugs of those that are well when somebody is dying is not practised here."

3: Rasmussen--45 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo -1-2
116, 764

"The body is laced up in a skin, as a rule the deceased's own platform skin, but if it is a very skilful hunter it must be a new and unused skin. The body is clad in its under dress, i.e. inner jacket, under trousers, stockings, and the small outer shoes-- the latter, however, must have soles of caribou skin, never of seal skin.

The body is taken out of the house through a hole in the rear wall above the platform, although the hole may be made in the front wall near the passage. But first it must always lie inside the house three days if it is a man, and four days if a woman. These are the days when the death taboo is observed: nagte'nEq. The corpse is clad in its death clothes immediately after death by one of the nearest relations. During nagte·nEq the body is laid outermost on the snow platform in the house. nagte·jut: those who are holding the death taboo, may go hunting during the nagte·nEq itself. If a seal is caught it may even be brought into the house of death, where it can be flensed and eaten.

During nagte·neq, knives and ulos are laid up on the platform beside the inhabitants while they sleep at night. If the death taboo is being observed during the period when the people are living in tents, the body must always be carried out from kilo: the rear part of the tent, as in the snow hut. Later on, when the taboo is over, the corpse is carried on a skin to the place where it is to be laid within a circle of stones; this is called ilofra. The ilofra is selected a good distance from the village so that there is no prospect of the dogs' eating the body, although this often happens. In winter the body is driven on a sledge to where it is to be laid, and when no stones are available, a small house of snow

is built over it.

The body must be placed so that the face turns towards the rising sun. A small opening is cut above the head to leave room for the soul to get out.

Nothing definite can be said as to what happens to the soul after death, though they believe that it leaves the body after it has been buried. Possibly it often returns to the grave, and for that reason offerings must be made there.

The one who lays a corpse in the ilofra must cover his face with the flap of his coat, cutting holes over eyes, nose and mouth to enable him to see and breathe."

3: Rasmussen--45-46 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 768

"The deceased's clothing and the sleeping skins that have belonged to him are thrown away, and likewise a tent in which there has been [46] a death is discarded. If it is a snow hut, it must be abandoned immediately after the body has been taken to the ilofra, the people moving to a new hunting place."

3: Rasmussen--46 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 765

"During the death taboo women may not sew nor do work of any kind. Seals caught during such a taboo, i. e. while the corpse is lying in the house, may be eaten, but the skin may only be used as dog feed and never for clothing of any kind.

nagte'jut: those who pass a certain time away, are also called sinigtaujut: those who must sleep a certain number of nights. Those who work on the body, i. e. dress it and take it to the ilofra, are called monArhijut; as a rule there are two for this work; they need not discard their clothing after monArhinEq."

3: Rasmussen--46 [2] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 764

"The dead must always be buried with the things by means of which he makes his 'life wandering'. This means his harpoons, hävgut: knives, pitithe: bow, arrows. If among the deceased's weapons there are especially valuable objects they may be substituted by less costly ones. Some implements may also be replaced by miniature imitations carved in wood. The clothing of the dead is usually laid beside the ilofra, and, in addition to the objects mentioned, miniature sledges and kayaks as well, and often a whole cross-slat of a sledge, in order that the soul may have a supply of wood.

Real articles such as ulos or cooking pots are never laid by a woman's grave, miniatures being used instead. All these grave offerings are called ilijät: that which is far away, and usually they are laid up along a stone and covered with small stones."

3: Rasmussen--46 [3] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 765

"As long as the monArhijut have not caught a seal they must not eat meat cooked in the pots of others. The first time the monArhijut catch a seal after having worked with a body they take the small pieces of blubber to their fellow villagers, who place them in the lamps. When going from house to house with these gifts they must always have a knife in their hand."

3: Rasmussen--46 [4] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 764

"As soon as the body has been placed in position the thongs that bind the aimiha·: the 'corpse-skin', are cut. This is done in order that no bonds shall hamper the soul in its movements; the possibility is imagined that there are many souls in a body."

3: Rasmussen--46 [5] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 765

"During a death taboo no one may comb his or her hair.

As soon as a body has been placed in the ilofra the mourners walk once round it in the direction of the sun. A year later the ilofra must be visited again, but this time they do not walk round it.

The first time a man catches a seal after having lost his wife he must take care that its bones are not broken by man or dog. The same applies if it is a caribou that is caught."

3: Rasmussen--46-47 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 762

"People who desire to put an end to their life should do so while [47] others are looking on. Consequently it often happens that they get one of their relatives to strangle them. The cause may either be sorrow or sickness. People who wish to take their life in secret must themselves make a thong fast to the roof of the snow hut by means of a hole and a bar placed across it on the outside, and then seek death by hanging.

Nothing is known as to whether people who take their own life meet with any special fate after death; it is believed that they go where they would otherwise have gone."

3: Rasmussen--47 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 764

"If the death taboo is not observed the soul becomes an evil spirit.

...those who have had to do with a dead body, must, when their work with the corpse is finished, always drink water when they return to house or tent. It is thought that this prevents the dead man's soul from becoming thirsty."

3: Rasmussen--47 [2] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 766

"When parents lose a child they keep its clothing as long as they are at that village. As soon as they leave for other places they have to lay the clothing in the ilofra."

3: Rasmussen--47 [3] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 763

"When a dying person is about to expire the house or tent is always crowded with people, who want to see him as long as there is life in him. Such people are called: 'those who are afraid'.

Among the Umingmaktôrmiut they have not the custom that a mother will take a child away from house and village when it is mortally ill, so that the people of the village may escape the death taboo. Even the tiniest infant must breathe its last in its mother's lap in house or tent."

3; Rasmussen--47-48 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 751

"Amulets are called: 'attachments,' and people say of them: 'no matter what it is, one must simply be pleased with it'. Among the more important amulets, however, there are: ermines, because they make one light of foot; the skin of the great northern diver, which gives strong life, for this bird hangs on to life very tenaciously; skins of gulls make clever fishermen, especially if at birth one has been wiped clean with one of these skins; wolf bones make men clever hunters; bones of a dog have the effect that, if one is murdered by men, revenge will be taken by the soul of the dog; the skin of a red-throated diver, especially if one has been wiped clean with one of these at birth, gives health and long life; a piece of skin from the head of a black bear, sewn on to the back of the inner coat, gives strength; bees, sewn into a piece of skin and placed in the arm-hole of the inner coat, give hard blows when boxing and great ability to stand hard blows; the head, [48] claws or skin of a falcon give courage, for a falcon is not afraid of attacking birds bigger than itself; parts of an eagle's beak or claws give luck in all kinds of hunting."

3: Rasmussen--48 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 294

"If it is desired that a little girl should become a clever seamstress, her first little piece of sewing must be fastened to the sleeve of the person who first took her when she was born."

3: Rasmussen--48 [2] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 842

"Little girls must have the neck skin of a male eider duck, or a piece of ptarmigan excrement, fastened just above the fork of the legs. This ensures that their children will be boys."

3: Rasmussen--48 [3] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 843

"When a young woman, pregnant for the first time, notices life in the child, one of her kamiks must be pulled off and she must walk about a whole day with one foot in her stocking only. This gives easy delivery.

A young woman carrying a child in her amaut always has a belt round her waist to keep the amaut tight into her body. On this belt she must hang various objects, for instance the head of a great northern diver or other bird, the beak or head-skin of a crane, bones of various birds. These things she must keep for her son to come."

3: Rasmussen--48 [4] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 501, 777

"The first time a man goes out in a newly-covered kayak he must make water on its stern and put soft hairs from a lemming nest into the kayak. These hairs must be placed in under the ribs of the kayak under the skin, Ermalit, on which he himself sits.

Otherwise a special kayak amulet is the skin of a red-throated diver. It must be pushed right into the kayak in front of the skin one sits on. A bee may also be put there; it must not have been sewn up in skin, but must have a thin line of skin round it. Finally, one may also place a blown-up seal or caribou bladder in the part of the kayak."

3: Rasmussen--48 [5] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 224, 777

"For a boy a toy is made out of the metacarpal bones of a seal, a thong being run through them; these the boy throws about outside. If the bones have been taken from a seal caught by a good hunter they will give the boy luck when sealing in later life.

A piece of the 'velvet' of a caribou horn, lost during the period when the animals have this covering, is a good amulet for a boy, who will become a skilful caribou hunter."

3: Rasmussen--48-49 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo -1-2
116, 777

"If it is desired that a child should have long hair, one is taken from its head and thrown into a river so that it will drift downstream.

Some boys must always wear their hair long; if it is cut, their life spirit is also cut over. Sometimes there is a special reason for this custom. Netsit was once nearly killed by an accidental shot, and his foster father decreed that his hair should never be cut.

A man who on his shoulder wears amulets of a young fox and the gall of a she-bear without young, will never be attacked by black bears. [49]

If a ptarmigan is placed on an infant boy's back and quickly taken away again, it will become the boy's pugjut: that by which the child can bob down and become invisible; his enemies will than go right past him without seeing him. The beak alone, or the head and foot of the ptarmigan, will be worn by him as an amulet.

The small snails one finds in the country are hung round the necks of dogs as amulets. A dog with an amulet of this kind will notice at once when bad weather is approaching; it will become restless and warn its master.

A boy must have the head of an ermine fastened to his cap; this will make him clever at catching ermines.

Near the part of the chest that moves when breathing small boys must have a lock of hair or an old man or woman sewn on. This gives vigour.

Young men and women must now and then swallow the spittle of an old man or woman. This will give them vigour."

3: Rasmussen--49 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 757

"The saliva of a dog is good for certain ailments, especially those of long duration. The saliva must be swallowed, and then something must be given to the dog in payment, for instance a handsome collar of skin.

Human saliva is used in the same manner, especially for stomach ache, and is either swallowed or rubbed over the troublesome spot.

If a man is troubled with boils he must swallow his own cores.

Headache is cured by means of a band stretched tight round the head, or by means of a special kind of head massage given by shamans, who have to be paid for their services out of courtesy to the helping spirits.

When feet and legs are attacked by gangrene they are amputated.

People suffering from snow-blindness are not allowed to eat the contents of caribou stomachs; to do so would aggravate their blindness, as it would be wounding the soul of the caribou.

Cataract, is treated by fastening a louse to a hair and letting it walk to and fro across the bad eye."

"Through the land of the Copper Eskimos.

I had put January 16th as the extreme limit of my stay among the Umingmaktôrmiut, for between this field of my operations and my next lay a stretch of about 2200 kilometres. This distance had to be traversed as rapidly as possible, but there would have to be halts here and there for the purpose of studying the people with whom we fell in, and thus obtaining an opportunity of making comparisons and drawing conclusions on the basis of the diary material I now had compiled from by observations among other Eskimo groups. It was therefore a source of great satisfaction to me that our dogs were in excellent condition after their long rest and thanks to the splendid treatment they had received at the hands of Mr. Clark. For it is a fact that on all arctic journeys one is involuntarily inclined to place on a somewhat lower plane the hospitality shown to one's own person; the heart grows warmer towards the man who feeds and fattens one's dogs.

We divided the dogs into two teams, relatively small ones having regard to the loads we would have to take. I, together with Arnarulúnguaq, had to be content with six of our best dogs, but on the other hand had the smaller sledge and a comparatively light load, which nevertheless turned the scale at about 300 kilos. Qâvigarssuaq was given ten dogs, and was to drive Leo Hansen and all his kinematographic equipment, which was of considerable weight ; I estimate their load at about 500 kilos. But thanks to the mud-and-ice shoeing--that brilliant Eskimo invention that reduces the friction of sledge

runners to the absolute minimum--we were able from the very start, when the loads were heaviest, to set up such a pace that our long sledge journey could be completed within the period we had planned. [53]

The speed that now comes over our journey is necessarily reflected in the description of it. Although every day was an experience in itself, remaining vividly in the memory long afterwards, I will glide lightly over everything that has already been dealt with in detail in the foregoing. The narrator is apt to become garrulous and to devote himself principally to events that were festive and made him happy.

Today I muster all my impressions of the journey in a little nameless Eskimo song from the Kitlinguharmiut:

And I think over again
My small adventures
When with a shore wind I drifted out
In my kayak
And thought I was in danger.
My fears,
Those small ones
That I thought so big,
For all the vital things
I had to get and to reach.

--- --- ---
And yet, there is only
One great thing,
The only thing:
To live to see in huts and on journeys
The great day that dawns,
And the light that fills the world.
--- --- ---

Our departure from Kent took place with the thermometer at 42° C. below zero, with the cold snow sweeping along right in our faces. We set our course for our old camping place, Malerisiorfik, for the purpose of recovering a quantity of baggage we had stored there. Wind-torn and fairly exhausted we arrived in the shelter of Qanijak's large and spacious snow hut, where all the afternoon there was a commotion of people coming and going, people who wanted to see us once again or to trade. It was for all the world like a menagerie---the shouting of human throats intermingled with the howling of dogs, for our host's dogs were kept inside in the warmth to save food. We ourselves lay up on the skin-covered platform and received our visitors.

The storm compelled us to stay where we were, and it was only on the eighteenth of the month that we succeeded in getting away, though it was still snowing. At some

distance from the village we fell [54] in with our old friend Tatilgak, who was out sealing at the breathing holes. Though he was far off our course he soon caught up with us, and, true to these people's passion for bargaining, tried to sell us all his sealing implements for flour; not being successful in this he proposed to go with us, just as he was, as guide and snow-hut builder as far as Tree River; this meant a run of at least fourteen days there and back. He had no sledge and no dogs with him, but up there these are not considered the essentials of a journey. His amusing suggestion was not accepted; instead, we sent a few presents to his wife 'The Marmot', and continued our way westwards.

On the twenty-first we rounded Cape Barrow, and, after having kept to the comparatively low granite shore for some hours, we headed for a high, steep mountain, but did not reach it until the following afternoon. The weather, which for a day or two had been fine and pleasantly mild, now threatened a snowstorm; drifting mists lay over the terrain, and, just when it was impossible to get our bearings, the dogs scented man. Off we went at a sweeping gallop, and about three o'clock we came to a village right out on the ice, where we received a tumultuous welcome. The village consisted of forty-six people--twenty-five males and twenty-one females--and they told us the place was called Agiaq; the name they gave themselves was Agiarmiut."

"We had gradually become accustomed to standing en garde in the face of people's all too effusive cordiality when welcoming us, but here we were pleasantly surprised to find quiet, almost modestly polite people who lost no time in offering to help us to build a snow hut quickly. The snowstown was right over us. On land the mountains as it were raised bristles--whirling columns of snow tossed about their summits, and we had no time to waste. A little way from the village we found a snowdrift and, as darkness had already set in, we had to be content with it, though really it was rather too soft. Less than an hour later we were under cover, and almost simultaneously the storm descended upon us and kept us there from the afternoon of the twenty-second till the twenty-sixth. All this time we were literally shut up in the hut, which all the time threatened to sweep away over our heads because the material had not been hard enough. We had constantly to go outside and renew and patch it--no light work under the violent pressure of the storm. The blocks of snow we cut out of the drifts simply blew away in our hands.

For four days the storm continued with unabated violence, and all the folks who visited us had to carry snow-knives in case they lost their way; it was barely five minutes' walk, and yet it was as much as [55] one's life was worth to get lost. Nevertheless the house was continually full of guests, men, women and children--in fact infants in their amaut, and once again I could not admire the ability of these people to adapt themselves to nature. Just think--a man goes to visit some friends five minutes away from his own house; if he goes wrong it means death unless he has a knife with him--and of course

they always have--and in that case he merely builds himself a little house; there he can hang on, although not at all warm, until there is a lull in the storm. Many at home would doubtless consider these to be rather severe conditions for cultivating social intercourse; up there they laugh at it and merely think it makes visiting less commonplace.

All our baggage and our sledges were buried so deep that we scarcely knew where they were, and even the dogs disappeared and became small hummocks in the drifts;;there, however, they were cosy and warm. Everything was enveloped in the flying snow, and only rarely did we catch a glimpse of the steep rocks of Agiaq Point like black animals through the thick air. It was as if one was shut in a fury of breakers, that took the breath away as soon as one put one's nose outside the doorway.

Still, that did not prevent a constant stream of people from coming to see us. We would hear a sneeze out in the passage--snow being blown out of mouth and nostrils; then commenced a beating of clothes that would last so long, that in the end one could scarcely believe there was any hair left on the furs; then at last they bobbed up, smiling and happy, blown clean in the storm, with glowing cheeks and icy eyebrows. They came and offered us dog feed in the form of raw seal skin and meat; they were very reasonable in their demands and gave vent to expressions of real pleasure at the prices we paid them. It had been a hard summer for them. Their territory, which prior to the establishing of the trading post had been one of the best caribou regions in the whole of the Coronation Gulf area, had last summer been almost bare of game--caribou had not been

seen at all. They had lived wretchedly on a few isolated, wandering musk oxen, small fish from the lakes, and ptarmigan--not at all the food that goes far in an Eskimo house. As soon as the sea had frozen over they had started sealing, and now the bad summer was over and done with, and their good humour once more in the ascendency, even if some of the adults still bore the signs of a long and severe period of starvation on their faces."

3: Rasmussen--69-71 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-4
116, 101, 161

"Distribution of the population among the western groups of the Copper Eskimos.

The camp at which we had arrived consisted of twenty large, comfortable snow huts quite close to a small island that had the Greenland-sounding name of Ahungahungâq (Asungasungâq), and after this island they called themselves Ahungahungârmiut. Most of them had come from Victoria Land, where up to recent years they had lived under the name of Piuvlermiut; but as caribou had gradually become rare in that region they moved over to the mainland, where they hunt in the interior between Great Bear Lake and the nearest coast north of Stapylton Bay. Among these were my host and hostess, but there were also some of the original mainland dwellers, and others again right up from Prince Albert Sound and Minto Inlet, so that in a most practical manner I was able to collect material from a wide area all concentrated in one village, thus saving a journey to Prince Albert Sound. I was particularly interested to meet the Kangerjuarmiut, or the people from Prince Albert Sound. Living as they did farthest away, the had often been described by the Umingmaktôrmiut in a more than fantastical manner; for instance they had told me that they were a bloodthirsty folk who often fought amongst themselves with bow and arrow, and that cannibalism was not uncommon among them. They often had frozen corpses to eat just as they have seals; to thaw them they were placed head downwards, and when their faces began to thaw it looked as if they smiled, I was told.

It was not many days before I ascertained that all these people had the same traditions

as the Musk Ox people, even to the smallest detail. Naturally, there were slight differences in their implement culture; but not only were their dialects very similar, but they knew each other's songs and the so-called ancient songs and spirituals; their incantations were often those that were known along the entire coast as far as up to Queen Maud Gulf. Whereas the Netsilik Eski-[70]mos may be looked upon as a separate tribe, all the so-called Kitlinermiut from Ogden Bay to Kent, Bathurst Inlet, Coronation Gulf, the lower part of Coppermine River, Dolphin and Union Strait, and all the people on Victoria Land are, as already stated, a single tribe who simply give themselves different names according to where they happen to be living. They usually are small bands. The villages to the east with their distribution of the population have already been referred to; here I will summarize the groups to the west, though with regard to their cycle of occupations it will be sufficient to refer to the most excellent and penetrating work of Diamond Jenness: The Life of the Copper Eskimos; what Jenness wrote there needs no repetition here.

There are the Agiarmiut, numbering 46 souls; 25 males and 21 females.

The Qorlortormiut, called after Bloody Falls on Coppermine River, totalling 88, of which 53 were males and 35 females. Infanticide is the cause of the great numerical inferiority of the females.

The Nuvungmiut in the region round Cape Krusenstern and Bernard Harbour; unfortunately I have no record of the numbers of the two sexes.

The Ahungahungârmiut, totalling 83: 46 males and 37 females. As already stated, this group comprises the people both from the mainland and from Victoria Land.

The Nägjugtôrmiut on Victoria Land, southeast of the Ahungahungârmiut, in all 30 people: 15 males and 15 females.

And finally the Kangerjuarmiut at Prince Albert Sound and the Kangarjuätjiarmiut at Minto Inlet, in all 122. In the case of these groups I was unable to obtain particulars of the sexes.

This summary of the western part of the district of the Copper Eskimos gives a population of about 439.

To this must be added the groups on the east: the Eqalugtôrmiut 98, (54 males and 44 females); Ahiarmiut 116 (70 males and 46 females); Umingmaktôrmiut 50 (27 males, 23 females), and the Kiluhigtormiut 113 (68 male and 45 females), in all 377.

This gives a grand total of about 816 Copper Eskimos, which corresponds well with Jenness' computation of between seven and eight hundred; it needs no saying that it will always be most difficult to indicate the exact numbers of Eskimo groups living such a nomadic life as they do. Yet it must doubtless be taken into consideration that one will probably arrive at a lower figure than the actual one, as it may easily happen that families out on a hunting trip are overlooked, whereas too many will never be indicated if my method of [71] census-taking is followed, i. e. that of writing down the names of every one in the group.

3: Rasmussen--69-71 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-4
116, 101, 161

The so-called Eastern Eskimos end at Dolphin and Union Strait, the best sealing place I found on my whole journey; the whole stretch from Inman River to Baillie Island is only inhabited either by white trappers or by Eskimos who have come there from Alaska. With Baillie Island begins an entirely new Eskimo culture, closely associated with the hunting of marine mammals and the consequent higher material culture, where all the peoples who live east of this island are at the first stage of evolution to a coast people, and in reality very closely approach the Caribou Eskimos in the interior."

3: Rasmussen--71 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 167, 823

"Within the time that can be checked by their traditions nearly all movement, all communication, seems to have been eastwards, and now and then from certain established migration routes southwards, where the various tribes exchanged what was of use to one another. There is no recollection of any journey westwards towards Cape Bathurst having been undertaken, and knowledge of the lands on the west was restricted to the simple fact that they knew there were people there too."

3: Rasmussen--71-72 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 101, 135, 316, 328

"When dealing with the various tribal groups I have already referred to what it was that drove the particularly enterprising out on [72] trading journeys, and what articles of barter could be offered for those one lacked. The whole of the region we have just described had a great and valuable source of wealth in the occurrence of pure copper, both in Bathurst Inlet and some places on Victoria Land, especially on Prince Albert Sound. Of this copper the natives made knives, ulos, ice-picks and harpoon heads, which were highly prized by tribes further away. Diamond Jenness has justly included all these people under the name of The Copper Eskimos."

3: Rasmussen--72-75 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-2
116, 144, 174

"These [MPK: The Copper Eskimos] are the same Eskimos who a few years back suddenly became worldfamous under the name of 'the blond Eskimos'...[74, page 73 omitted] Vilhjálmur Stefánsson maintains that the distance between Greenland and Victoria Land is really so short that there would have been no practical difficulty in the Norsemen's migration to these regions. I can in no way agree with my highly esteemed colleague. The old Norsemen were mariners who penetrated far to the north in their boats, it is true; but they were in no way sledge travellers nor adapted to a winter culture such as that required in these lands. We lose the certain marks of their northern boundary in the rune-stone find at Upernivik, and though this of course does not mean that some hunters may not have forced Melville Bay, and that others may not have gone into Jones Sound, where Sverdrup considered he had found stone erections that resembled eider-duck traps, it has never been definitely proved, and the basis on which we have to build is all too slender. The regions in which the Norsemen lived had a subarctic climate, and there is no record of any kind that Eskimo sledge-driving was adopted by them. With no knowledge of the technique of arctic travelling, the distance between Greenland and Victoria Land grows great, and the fate of the many Northwest Passage expeditions shows better than anything else how impossible it would have been for Norsemen to navigate into these regions. And finally, if an immigration had meant so much that it could leave its mark upon the Eskimo population, there would have had to be more than an isolated ship that was beaten off her course--we must have a bigger immigration, and that can scarcely

have been at all possible. With all due respect to the courage of those old Norsemen and their ability to look after themselves, I do not think it would occur to them to carry wives and children into these parts.

Finally, in addition to these reasons we have the traditions. It would seem incredible that such a great event, even a thousand years later, should not be remembered by a people who so faithfully preserve all their old traditions. In Greenland, for instance, there are many legends of the Norsemen and their wars with the Eskimos. It would be natural to expect that something of the same sort would be the case among the inhabitants of Victoria Land.

And in fact all the anthropological measurements taken do not indicate any new infiltration in the tribe. All vital bodily and facial proportions are pronouncedly Eskimo, and nothing at all hints at any mixture of blood. In reality these blond types are not peculiar to Victoria Land either; on King William Land and Great Fish River, as well as among the Musk Ox people, I found types that [75] had just the same outer peculiarities--the same fair complexion, the reddish or brownish hair, the grey, often almost blue eyes, a surprisingly luxuriant beard--all otherwise unusual among the Eskimos. All these I found among other tribes who had no tradition of any intermingling, and who lived so far away from the Copper Eskimos that influence from these parts cannot be imagined. I am therefore convinced that these special types are due to purely biological conditions that are quite accidental, and defy the setting up of any rule."

.3; Rasmussen--76 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 101, 621

"The various groups, which are closely connected with one another--and often make mutual visits, hunt together for years at a time, and through intermarriage have become related--are the following: The Ahiarmiut, or the inhabitants of the shores of Queen Maud Sea; the Kêgdlingujârmiut, the people living on Kent Peninsula; the Kûngmiut, who live along a salmon river in Victoria Land west of Cambridge Bay; the Eqalugtôrmiut, likewise at a salmon river close to Cambridge Bay; the Malerisiorfingmiut, who inhabit the country between Kent Peninsula and Bathurst Inlet; the Kiluhigtormiut, at Bathurst Inlet. All these groups say of themselves: We all know one another; in summer we live in our own particular area but meet in winter: we meet for the hunting at the breathing holes, and then there are many of us. It has always been so as far back as people can remember, before the white man came up here. It is these groups that are called the Kigdlinermiut by all those who live more towards the east, whereas among themselves only those who live in Kigdlineq, i. e. Victoria Land, are called Kigdlinermiut."

3: Rasmussen--76 [2] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"Of all the groups living on the southern part of Victoria Land it holds good that caribou hunting and salmon fishing are the main occupations in summer and autumn; the spring caribou trek from the mainland is of no great significance, as the animals come only in small flocks of one or two at a time. Hunting proper goes on in the interior, and in fact it sometimes happens that the hunters go right over to the northeast coast, where the caribou live in summer till well into autumn. Caribou hunting in Victoria Land is never so prolific as on the shores Queen Maud Sea. The Eqalugtôrmiut often abandon it in August, at the time when the young birds have grown, for then salmon fishing in the river Eqalugtôq is at its best."

3; Rasmussen--77 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 136

"Sometimes the caribou migration in June is so enormous that, according to what the people say, the animals are three days in passing a village; the whole country is alive, and one can see neither the beginning of them nor the end--the whole earth seems to be moving. This takes place so early in the year that the caribou are still white-coated."

3: Rasmussen--77 [2] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 224

"Throughout the whole summer there is a constant migration through the Ahiarmiut country out to the coast, where the caribou flee in order to escape the clouds of mosquitoes; it is then that they are hunted at the crossing places, especially from kayaks, and much dried meat is prepared and cached for the winter."

3: Rasmussen--77-78 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 224

"In late summer and into autumn the Ahiarmiut move further inland with the herds of caribou, sometimes journeys of ten or twelve days up to a big lake called Equaluarpalik. There they remain throughout the caribou rutting season, and often do not come down to the salt water until the close of December. At the coast clothing is made in the region of Ellice River, and only when this is finished do they go out sealing. In former days it was the Ahiarmiut especially who used to make the long journeys up to Akilineq to trade and also to fetch wood from the forests. They travelled up on the last snows of spring and did not come back until the following winter. The people on Kent Peninsula spent the summer on the peninsula itself, usually at some salmon river, and later on, in autumn , they moved out to Naujat on the west end of the peninsula where there was also a good [78] salmon river. In summer they hunted the caribou everywhere on land and at the crossing places between the islands, bulls being the principal quarry. Large herds used to come up from the region round Ellice River towards the end of July--thin-haired animals that had just cast their coats--and these the women would drive in towards the hides where the hunters lay waiting with bow and arrow. The usual scares were also used in these hunts, made of pieces of wood with streamers, and small cairns built of stones or sods. There were caribou there all through the winter, but bow and arrow were never used then as it was too cold for the hands; winter hunting there has only been practised to any great extent since the introduction of firearms."

3: Rasmussen--78 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 224

"The Malerisiorfingmiut, or Umingmaktôrmiut as they also call themselves: the Musk Ox People, go into the country at the beginning of summer, proceeding from Hope Bay along a river that is called Aringaq. In former times this happened so early in spring that the caribou were still white and often could be hunted from hides that were built up of snow in the days when they only had bow and arrow. Later on in summer, when the caribou went further inland, they followed them and sometimes fell in with the people from Ellice Bay. In the interior they once used to get musk oxen, but this animal is now very rare. Firearms have only recently been introduced in these regions, and in a very short time the effect has been that now there are never any caribou on Kent Peninsula or the hinterland of Hope Bay, and very few in Victoria Land. This scarcity of caribou is not due to their extermination, but simply to the fact thet [sic] they wander along other routes when once they have been scared for a few years in succession by the report of riflesat places where the hunters usually meet them."

3: Rasmussen--78-85 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-2
116, 162, 551

[MPK: Only the first two pages of this list have been processed. Pages 80-85 have been omitted.]

At Ahiaq (the coast of Queen Maud Sea). Distributed along Kulgajuk (a river that runs out east of Ogden Bay) and Kûnajuk (Ellis River) respectively.

At Kulgajuk:

1. haniliaq, his wife auqtaq, their sons pinaquaq (the handsome one), paqnartaluk (the thoroughly dried one) and auqpilaq (the red one) as well as their daughter haq.
2. pituana (a stone for use as a weight on something), his wife tunaq (the ghost being) and their daughter ivaruk (the badly searching one).

3. kivgaˑluk (?) and his wife mikigiʌq (the gull snare).
4. iŋɔrɛq (the skin on the bottom of a sledge), his wife igjɔrhiʌq (blubber laid out to freeze), and their sons make (the one who rises) and kuvʟumɛˑq (he with the thumb).

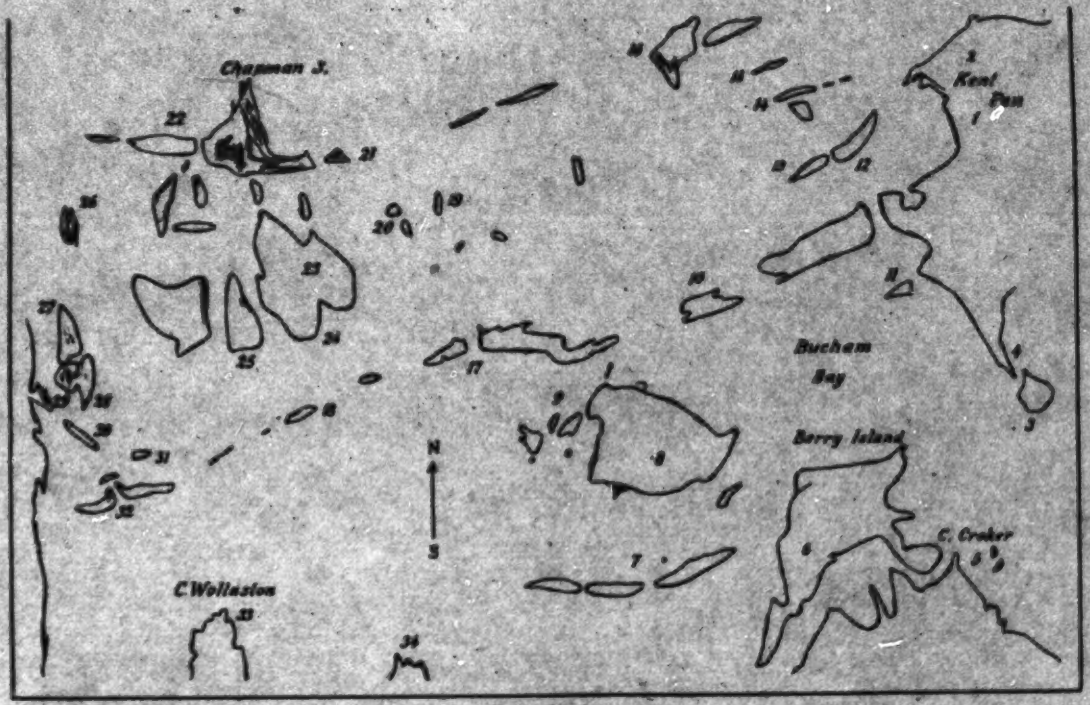
At Koˑnajuk:

5. kiŋmɛrut (something on one's heel), his wife tikɛrʟuk (the bad forefinger) and their son panijujʌq (the daughterlike one).
6. ɛrfana (the one who flaps in the wind (?)), a blind man and his wife ikhik (the one who gets something in her eyes).
7. ututʌˑq (?), his wife pequjʌq (what is permitted to have) and son uhɔrqānˑuʌq (the penis gifted one).
8. qiŋˑʌrhanˑa (the meat-giving one) his wife taipana (?), and son panijujʌq.
9. aunɛq (one who has swooned) and his wife ilaˑgtaumɛq (?), their sons qaitˑʌq and taipana, and a youug man ututʌˑraˑluk (?).
10. utuχʌˑq (?), his wife tikɛrʟuk and their sons paŋnʌrtʌq and taipana.
11. ʌrnʌˑrjuʌq (the big woman), his wife nɛrqāgˑhiʌq (the one that is expected to become fleshy), their sons igpakuhāk and qavʟunʌˑq (white man) and their daughters qoˑmingˑhɔq (one whom one grips between one's legs) and hanʌˑq.
12. qiŋarugʟik (the one with the nose), his wife halgiuˑhe (?) and son tɛriarpāk (the giant ermine).
13. qɛrnɛrtʌq (the black one) and his wife mitɛq (the eider-duck).

In the interior at Nunatoqaq, close to Aulagtivigssuaq.

14. qaitˑalugkʌˑq (?), his wife kaŋnugjāciʌq (the little piece of copper) and sons qinmiɔq (?), uhɔrqānˑuʌq and aˑkulualuk (?).
15. maula (?), his wife itqilɛrtʌq (the Indian) and son qaˑjaina (the one who never comes near).
16. niʌqɔq (head), his wife qiŋmɛruvkʌˑq (the one who usually desires dog-flesh) and son tupitʟᵘruvkʌˑq (?).
17. ɛqulik (one with a turd in his end), his wife uhɔrqʌq and son paŋnʌq.
18. kaŋnujaiciʌq, his wife innʌrugʟik (cliff) and son panijujʌq.
19. manɛraiciʌq (the little flat surface), his wife eˑtualuk, son qugput and daughter panijujʌq.
20. ɔrˑhinˑuʌq (the little trace toggle) and his wife mikilrʌˑq (the little one).
21. puŋˑɔq (the dog) and his wife nɛriunʌˑq (the one who makes

3: Rasmussen--opposite 86 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 103, 823



Sketch-Map I
The region north of Bathurst Inlet; from Kent Peninsula to the west. Looking almost from south to north. Drawn by Netsit.

3: Rasmussen--86-89
116, 103, 823
(c. 1923) 1932
NDS Copper Eskimo-1-4

III.

Topography.

Sketch-Maps from the Umingmaktôrmiut.

MAP I.

The region north of Bathurst Inlet, from Kent Peninsula to the west. Looking almost from south to north. Drawn by Netsit.

1. ke·tliŋujʌ·q — that which seems to form a conclusion. Here: west coast of Kent Peninsula.
2. qupɛrtʟrɔrtɔq — the maggot-abounding. Locality on Kent Peninsula.
3. ha·gtuʌrjuk — the little flat one. Island south of Kent Peninsula.
4. tikɛrʌq — the forefinger. Long point on the south coast of Kent Peninsula.
5. igjuk — the testicles. Two small islands southeast of Cape Croker.
6. qo·ŋuʌr'huk — the dear little pissing place. Barry Island.
7. amit·ut — the narrow ones. Three islands west of Barry Island.
8. qikɛrtʌ'rjuʌq — the big island.
9. aʟrʌruhɛq — the afterbirth-like one. Group of islands with a wide sound between, west of No. 8.
10. imnʌrto·t — those rich in steep coasts. Islands west of Kent Peninsula.
11. qiɔqutʌq — that like a tool-box. Island west of Kent Peninsula.
12. ikɛrahâgjuʌq — the big sound. Between Kent Peninsula and the island groups west of it.
13. nahaujât — those like a hood. Two islands west of Kent Peninsula.
14. ukalɛrto·k — those abounding in hares. Island group north of 13.

15. tukiŋajɔq — the one lying across. Island north of 14.
16. uŋe·ve·t — the place where one tightens one's kamik-laces. What this name means is unknown, but it signifies two large islands which conclude the island groups north-west of Kent Peninsula in a region which every spring is visited for breathing-hole hunting by the different groups of people who have wintered within Bathurst Inlet, Kent Peninsula and right over to Victoria Land.
17. itagugjuit — meaning unknown. Two elongated islands north-west of No. 8.
18. nakahuŋnʌrtuʌrjo·k — the name of two dangerous spirits who were said to live in the rocks themselves on these two cliff islands and from there attacked and killed passing sledge-travellers.
19. nalik·ät·ɔrwik — actually: the place where one tastes trouser-fork. Here: an island.
20. tatigɛrnät — possibly: the two who lie nudging each other. Two small islands.
21. qaluhʌ'rwik — the place where one can ladle something up. Small island.
22. han·ɛrutit — those who have laid themselves across something. Island group consisting of Chapman Island and the island on the west of it.
23. kaŋnujʌq — the copper. Large island with native copper.
24. ipɛrautɛ· — literally: its whip. Nose on the south side of No. 23.
25. qilɛrtäŋ·ualik — the place where there are bundles (of dried meat). Rather large island west of No. 24.
26. hagtuʌrjuk — the little flat one. An island.
27. aulätjivik — the place where one waves with skins, etc. (to scare caribou). An island.
28. qʌritʌrnʌq — that which resembles brains (presumably meaning the colour of the stones). An island just south of No. 27.
29. na·hɛrfik — the place where one waits for something to end. The meaning of the name is uncertain; it has either happened on a journey that someone has died, and they have had to wait until the death taboo was ended, or people who, after hunting caribou, have come from land, camped there, and waited for their winter clothing to be finished before they could go out over the sea to hunt the seal. The locality is on the mainland, south of Point Barrow, whose Eskimo name is haniuaq.
30. naujatɔ·q — where gulls abound. Elongated small island.

3: Rasmussen--86-89 (c. 1923) 1932. Copper Eskimo-3
116, 103, 823

31. o·m·an·ʌq — the heart-shaped one. Small island.
32. kitauguŋna·k — those that are good to have as an underlayer for protecting the edge of the platform. Two long islands. In these regions, where timber is not so plentiful as further east, a narrow board is used in both snow huts and tents, along the outer edge of the platform to protect the platform and make it more comfortable for sitting on.
33. tikɛrʌ·rjuk — the little ness. Bank's Peninsula with Cape Wollaston.
34. iglɔrjualik — the place with the big house. Presumably because there is a formation there that looks like a house.

Map II.

Bathurst Inlet. Looking from south to north. Drawn by Netsit.

1. kiluhiktɔq — the fjord whose head is far inland.
2. haqinɛrɔriʌq — that which one must try to reach while the sun is shining on it. A lake east of the head of the fjord.
3. nablɔq — crossing place (for caribou). Locality at No. 2.
4. pikäŋnʌrhiɔrfik — the place where the wind is usually in from the land. A lake with a crossing place.
5. pijɔrohimahɔq — possibly: the place that has separated itself (from the rest). A narrow point separating itself sharply from the mainland, and then continuing in two small, long islands.
6. ko·kiviʌ·r'huk — the little watercourse.
7. hagfiɔrfik — the place where one makes knives. A creek, with a river emptying into its head.
8. pariŋanɛq — the curved one. Peninsula having a sharp bend.
9. aniʌrhiɔrfik — possibly corresponds to what on the opposite side is called pikäŋnʌr hiɔrfik, but with the opposite meaning, this indicating a place where one usually has a wind bearing out of a creek. The locality is at the head of a creek.
10. tikɛrʌrjuk — the little ness.
11. tʌrajun·uʌq — the little salt (sea). Lakelike bay.
12. kiŋ·a·k — the mountains. Prominent mountain formation.
13. ajapagpʌrtɔrwik — presumably: the place where one crawls on all fours. A river where one seeks trout.
14. a·jo·k — meaning unknown. The south end of a long island.
15. qikɛrtakäb'ha·luk — the poor island.
16. ivigjuʌq — the grazing place. Locality on the north side of No. 14.

17. kit·ɔrqaq — the place where it is torn to pieces. A narrow strait between Nos. 16 and 18.
18. qaŋŋjuit — the ridge. Elongated island, where there is a well-known caribou crossing place.
19. qaɴiujɔrhiɔrfik — meaning uncertain. Mountain on the north side of No. 18.
20. kʀ·tiʟʀ'huk — the little one lying just alongside. Island on the northwest coast of No. 18.
21. iɡ'hʀrfik — possibly: the place where one can renew the mud shoeing on the sledge. A small island.
22. hiɴiɴa·luk — the little indentation.
23. kaɴʀrhuɡjuaq — the big bay.
24. hanʀʀrʀrhaq — the outermost side. Stretch of coast on the west side of the fjord.
25. kaɴnuj·ʀq — copper (island).
26. ʀlʀʀruhaq — the afterbirth-like (cf. Map I, No. 9.). May possibly also mean: the poor other one alongside, as this is often used as a name of a small island alongside a larger one, as is the case here.
27. hanʀʀrʀrhiʀrohaq — the little side piece; a stretch of coast.
28. a. tikʀʀrʀrjuk — Bank's Peninsula, see Map I, No. 33.
28. b. kiɴ·ʀrjualik — ridge on Banks Peninsula.
29. hiɴiɡjuaq — the big indentation. Arctic Sound.
30. kiɴ·a·k — the mountains.
31. hivɔʀa'ʀʟiup ko·ga· — the river from the one before. A river emptying into the head of No. 29.
32. nanitaɴ ko·ga· — meaning unknown; possibly naɴitaq is a proper name. A tributary to No. 31.
33. katimaɴnâk — the place where those two run together. Is probably also the common name for Hood River.
34. a'ʷwarqut — meaning unknown. Ridge near No. 33.
35. alɡaq — either: the hand, or: the black bear. Fair-sized island in the mouth of the fjord.
36. iɡlɔrjualik — see Map I, No. 34.
37. qɔrvin·ʀq — the favourite pisspot. Large island just east of No. 35.
38. ʀqalulialuk — the place of salmon. Large island in the same group as above.

NB. Among the aforementioned localities the following are particularly well known for their wealth of native copper: the island kaɴnuj·ʀq, ridges a'ʷwarqut near to Hood River, kiɴ·ʀrjualik on Bank's Peninsula, and na'ʰhʀrfik, on the mainland south of Point Barrow.

3: Rasmussen--opposite 88 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 103, 823

Sketch-Map II
Bathurst Inlet. Looking from south to north. Drawn by Netsil.

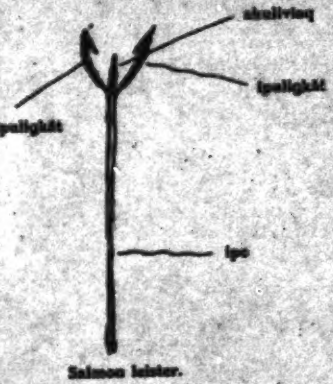
3: Rasmussen--90-102
116, 41, 192

IV.

Culture Elements.

Drawings by Hetalt.

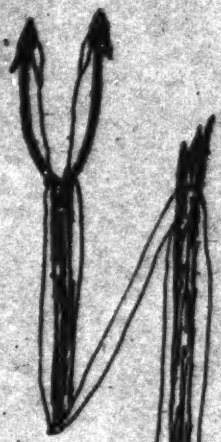
tɔ·q — ice pick.
hafgut or hävgut — snow probe.
ilaun — ice scoop.
o·gaʀhiut — fish thong.
o·gkuaŋa — the cod line itself (in contrast to o·gaʀhiut, which comprises the whole: hook, line, etc.
nig"hik — cod hook (longer and bigger than the salmon hook).
ama· — the horn shank in which the cod hook, usually of native copper, is set.
aulaʀqutit — small white pieces of bone set in the ama·, to decoy the cod.
aulig"huta· — actually: that by means of which one moves the line — a piece of wood bound to the end of the line as a kind of rod, preventing the mittens from becoming wet by holding the wet line.
aqaiug"hiut qaʀjɔrjaq — salmon thong.
qaʀjɔr"haq or qa'rjɔ'rjaq } salmon hook.
tiv"ja· — the horn shank of the salmon hook.
mi"kaʀuta· — bait.
The other gear names are the same as for the cod line.



Salmon leister.

kakivak — salmon leister.
ipo — the long shaft of a salmon leister.
ipuligkät — horn barbs on a salmon leister.
akaliviaq — the sharp, barbless point in the middle of the ipuligkät.

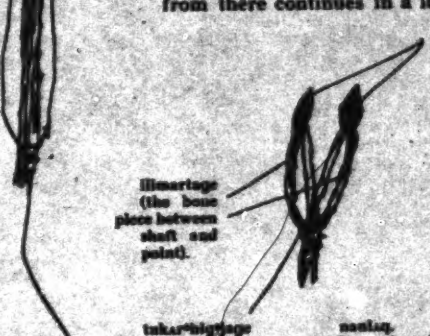
3: Rasmussen--90-102
116, 41, 192



nuijʌ'rpa'k.

nuijʌ'rpa'k — leister with several barbs on both ipuligkät and akuliviaq.

naulʌq or dualis nauʌäk — harpoon leister. Used for salmon, which are speared if they are near enough, but harpooned if further away. Instead of the barbs on the leister ipuligkät there are two small harpoon heads whose line is fastened to the round shoulder (which is of horn), whence the line runs to the extreme end of the shaft (ipo); there, too, it is lashed on, and from there continues in a long or short



nauʌäk (the two harpoon heads).

illmartage (the bone piece between shaft and point).

tukʌr'higʼjage (the lines of the harpoon head).

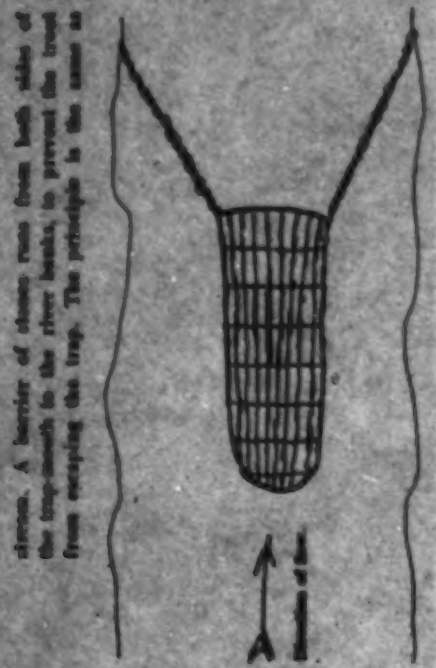
naulʌq. With such a short line that it only goes from the harpoon line to the round shoulder of the leister. This implement can only be used for spearing, not for throwing.

naulʌq. For reasons of space the leister-shaft has been broken; it has a length of 6·7 metres.

end which the fisherman holds on to when the harpoon is thrown. The leister harpoon is used especially at Eqalugtôq.

qalɔ — fish trap of plaited rushes; for salmon. It is set in a river with its mouth facing down

(c. 1923) 1932
Copper Eskimo-2
[92]



together with lines with snares on them. A hare will only go a short distance along the stones, and as soon as he tries to break through he gets his head in a snare and is caught.

nîŋâg'hât tiŋuiaɹaɹ'hiutit — bird snares; on the same principle as the above. Set near the nests in the nesting season. The small birds, so caught are of no importance as food, but are characterised in the following utterance: nutaɹqît suiiaɹqutait igau'haɹpâgkamik — a pastime for children, who are very fond of playing "cooking food" in the open air.

mmaq — a pointed piece of bone placed on a line which is made fast to a stone or to the ice. Used especially for catching gulls. The bone is wrapped in a piece of caribou meat, and, as the gull swallows it, the point sticks inside and kills it.

ŋqsiɔ'jaq — fish decoy; used only in autumn from new ice in conjunction with the leister. In spring they only use the qa'rjɔ'rjaq.

pitig'he — bow.

There are two kinds of bow, which are almost always of wood. One consists of one piece of curved wood, the ends connected by means of the bow string; is called

ihuiŋartaq — that which is bent out in one piece. The other bow is called ihualik — the one with the end pieces, it is straight at both ends and curved only at the

middle. kujaɹŋa, i. e. the curved part, is backed with a piece of skin of the fjord seal or bearded seal; this is called tunua — its back part, and serves to stiffen the bow. The tunua is again strengthened by a plaiting of caribou sinews, called qitaautât — the plaited ones. The bow string is called nɔqaɹtaɹ — that which is tightened.

qiputaq — really: implement for twisting; sinew twister shaped as shown: about 8 cm long.

The ends of the implement are bent up in opposite directions so that when pulling it out sideways it does not catch in the plaiting.

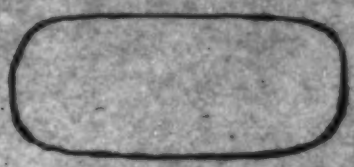
qarnat — actually: something for sticking underneath; implement for inserting under the sinew backing when it is to be loosened, shaped as shown:

15—20 cm long.

qarpit — a kind of bodkin for inserting in the bow whippings when they are to be loosened.

Shaped: 15 cm long.

qiarfik — cutting-board for arrow feathers shaped as shown:



10 cm long and 5 cm wide.

havarot — thin, sharp knife with long shaft; for cutting arrow and feathers:

pihig'hitaq — see sketch.

This comprises bow case, quiver and tool bag. qa'rjot: the quiver; igpiar'huk: the bag for tools for repairing

bow and arrows; ʌqiigʌr'hʌrlik: short thong with a toggle at the end for carrying ptarmigan; pihig'hitʌq: the bow case itself.

qʌ'rjeq — common word for: arrow.

nuijʌ'q — a special arrow used for ptarmigan; it has a blunt, rounded head and is merely intended for hitting the bird. The reason for using this special ptarmigan arrow is: when shooting at a ptarmigan one might easily hit a stone, which destroys the arrow head; they have therefore devised an arrow that can withstand even the shock of hitting a stone. No special ptarmigan bow is used for these arrows. kukia — the sharp point of an arrow head. akia — the barb of an arrow. tiv'hʌr — bone part of the arrow head. tenutʌr — the pointed tang of the arrow head that fits into the shaft. hugʌuk (dualis) feathering. miqne'k or itʌr'je'k — the nock. ipuʌ — wooden arrow shaft. Thus the arrow has this appearance:

tiv'hʌitʌq — arrow head of copper or iron, shaped:

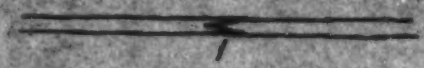
hamuʌralik — arrow head of horn without barbs:

havilik — arrow head of horn with iron blade:

haqnu'hʌlik — arrow head of horn with copper blade.

qipitiʌq — arrow head entirely of copper:

[illegible] — a broken arrow shaft glued together with blood. The joint is called [illegible]:



[illegible]

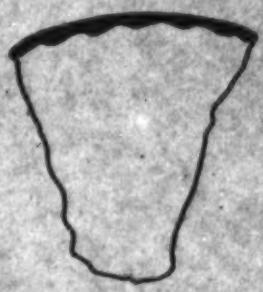
[illegible] — blood-glue. Dried blood, kept in a small sealskin bag or throat-skin of a bird. For use it is softened in the mouth with a little water.

[illegible] — pin for closing a blood bag of caribou stomach, shaped:

[illegible] — implement of bone for keeping open a blood bag of [illegible] — caribou stomach, while pouring blood into it; the point is stuck into the flesh of the animal while the crutch is placed at the narrow opening of the stomach:

[illegible] — curved bone pin with head; used for closing when the hindquarters have been cut away from the belly of the caribou; the pin is inserted through the belly skin to prevent the entrails from falling out:

[illegible] — handle of horn for carrying a blood bag:



[illegible] — tump line, with a broad brow piece combined with a [illegible]) which passes across the chest.

[illegible] — caribou lance; the shaft is called ipo and the head kukia.

pa'tik (dualis) — kayak paddle; the blade is called muluaŋa and the middle portion where it is gripped by the hands ihâg'ha·.

qarlaraʼkut — drip-ring, placed on each side of the hand-grip of the paddle to prevent the water dripping into the kayak.

qajaq — kayak. pa·q is the wooden ring round the man-hole, and is also the term for this hole. sivo is the stem. u'ho·jaq is the nose of the stem. tanarluk — the narrow lath running from stem and stern to the man-hole to stay up the deck beams; tigpe or tigpik — ribs. apuaʼlik — the gunwale, to which the top of the ribs are fastened. hlanio — wooden stringer running from stem to stern over the middle of the ribs to stiffen them. ajaj'haq — deck beam. igtarwik — a reinforced deck beam just behind the man-hole on which the man sits when sliding down into the kayak. mahia — the bent up deck beam of front of the man-hole. majo·ŋaŋ·a — the wood that runs from the latter to the deck-stay and forms the raised part of the deck just in front of the man-hole, to enable the body to slide into the kayak. kuja· — the keel of a kayak.

a·gʟig'hâk (dualis) — sledge. napo — a cross-slat; napuliut — lashing for this. puvkunq — the hole in the runner for the cross-slat lashing. uvarnaq — nose of the runner. parpa·q — red and black stripes painted on the nose of the runner. allanaarharlaqo — "in order that one may be happy when looking at it." naqita'rfik — load-lashing line along the upper edge of the runner under the cross-slats; through this is run the thong that holds the load on. qalarqiut — the load thong, fastened in the middle of the runner in two ends; to lash on a load one begins at the middle, one line lashing the fore part, the other the rear part. parte — draught line, to which the traces are made fast. ano — dog harness; uŋo·tiŋ — the two main traces; qule·guta· — the strap that holds the harness over the dog's neck and manuaquta· — the breast strap. anugtarut — the girth. qitunraq — dog trace. qivjarqut — swivel for preventing the twisting of the trace. uhuaq — thong connecting swivel and trace.

uniutaq — man's draught line, of bearded-seal thong; quite short and just in front of the sledge.

qamoraut·aq — woman's draught line, also of bearded-seal thong: is long and extends out in front of the dogs.

uŋo·tʟaut — literally: a means of frightening forward — a whip. Very primitive, more intended for keeping dogs from meat in the snow-hut, where they usually are during the day. The sledge whip in the Greenland or Labrador-Hudson Bay sense is unknown.

tupɛq — tent. igtät — tent sheet, consisting of seal or caribou skins sewn together. qanäk (pl. qan·ät) — tent pole. pa·q — tent opening, door. tupqugtän — two tent poles crossed at the top and forming the front of the tent. qimɛrʟit — two similarly crossed poles forming the back of the tent. tɔ·rut — the ridge pole resting in the cross of front and rear poles, forming the ridge. qan·ät — tent poles resting loosely against the ridge pole and forming the sides. qanagug"häk (dualis) — two short, loose poles laid up along the back of the tent so that the sheet can better be stretched out. qipiŋ·uagtäk (dualis) — two poles placed opposite one another but up against qimɛrʟit to give room in the inner end of the tent. uɛsik — tent-flap at the entrance; usually merely a loose caribou skin hung up between the front poles.

an·ɔr"hät — clothing. puhitʌq — hood collar, usually of white caribou skin. kɛ·vhɛrɛ — small tuft at the back of a man's hood, for ornament. naha· — coat hood for men. manuhiŋnäk (dualis) — two pieces of white skin sewn into the breast of the coat for ornament. kina· — the lower edging of the coat. ako — the long flap of the coat hanging down behind. iliŋnera — dark pattern in the caribou skin, placed on the back of the men's coat, one below each shoulder blade. qʌquŋ·a — a white skin border running from the white hood-edging right round the hood of the women's hood. kinɛq — small, tongue-shaped bib in front of the women's coat. nalik·auk (dualis) — women's trousers. tunuta· — the dark skin in women's trousers. ig"hɛrit — pattern of white and black skin down along the seams of women's trousers. qʌrʟik (dualis) — men's trousers. uŋ·iʌrnäk (dualis) — white border at the bottom of each trouser leg. napuagutai — transversal stripes at the bottom of the trousers above uŋ·iʌrnäk. tɛrig"hʌq — trouser belt for both sexes. nɔr"hut or ujäg"hiut — trouser suspenders.

ipig'hau or kamigpâk — long, hairy, women's kamiks; at the top in front they terminate in a narrow strip of skin, ipiʌq) used for drawing them up. hivərqʌ·rutai — black and white stripes along the front of kamigpâk. norna· — the uppermost white edging on kamigpâk. kamigpa·k is also the name of men's outer kamiks of caribou skin; at the foot they are furnished with a loose shoe, kaiptʌq, which has a sole of bearded seal skin and is laced over the instep. tuâgtəralik — a very fine form of shoe, almost entirely of sole skin, except that a narrow tongue of dark, ordinary seal skin runs down the front from instep to toe, hence the name: the one with the little narrow one. tiqujaut — crimping bone; sharpened piece of bone for crimping the sole skin.

qulicʌq — long-haired winter coat for men. Otherwise the names of garments are the same for both sexes.

kapitɔqʌq or atige } — thin-haired outer coat.

numgu'hʌq or ma·nuh nilik } — festival coat, for use in the qaχ'ge.

ilupʌ·q — inner coat.

mitqutʌ̄k (dualis) — long outer-kamiks of the skin of caribou legs.

aiʌrtik (dualis) — stockings of caribou skin.

tugtɔqalo·k — small shoes, usually of hairless sealskin, worn over the long caribou-skin boots.

ug'huviʌrtauk — shoes with the hair outside, of caribou skin.

iliparqun· — small, short hose worn over the stockings, of sealskin.

pinʌrqân· — small short hose over the stockings, of caribou skin.

ilupâg'hât — under-trousers, of caribou skin.

niɔrɔrig'hât — sealskin boots with the hair outside.

ipʌrautin — waterproof boots of unhaired sealskin.

pualuk (dualis) — short mittens of caribou skin.

haviʌrto'tit — long mittens for use when building snow huts.

qaɔrut — brow-band for both sexes, with decorations of brass or iron; specially for use in the qaχ'ge.

hium·iutʌq — ear-drops, used, by the way, only by some families who have been in contact with the Pâtlermiut inland.

atajɔrâgʌ̄k (dualis) — trousers and boots all in one, for children.

atajulik — combination suits for children.

atait·ulik — child's cap for the combination suit.

manullitaq — child's collar or bib.
agkiut — child's vest with napkin string.
nahaq — child's cap.
naharaq — cap of caribou skin.
ava·laqi'hât — wattle platform mat.
kita·rutit or igLitit — long boards laid along the snow platform where people sit.
havinjaq — snow-knife, of horn.
qalugiaq — snow-knife, of copper.
havik — snow-knife, of iron.
pilaut or hatgɔ or pilakaut — ordinary knife.
talugLitit — spade for digging twigs or moss in winter.
kaŋe·jaut — wick bag, for keeping lamp-moss.
qutlaq — soapstone lamp.
utkuhik — soapstone cooking pot.
igLiviaq — meat tray.
po·gutaq — flat meat tray.
puâtLrit — snow shovel.
qât·aq or qainiŋaq — water bag.
qatLut — ladle.
qaje·taq — large spoon, curved, of musk-ox horn.
o·a·aujaut — fish spoon, of horn.
igpiarjuŋ·uaq — sewing bag.
igpiarjuk — large or small bag for general purposes.
po·g'halgiaq — wide-mouthed bag of skin, especially for carrying frozen cod from the fishing place.
pɔ·rahaq — caribou-skin bag, filled with dried meat.
ɔr'ho·t — blubber bag.
qiɔrwik — sewing board.
tikaq — thimble, of skin.
alo·t — spoon, of European origin.
ulo — woman's knife.
kimalaq — small woman's knife, especially for cutting out skins.
xɔtɔrtit — skin scraper, of bone.
nalug'hit — bone skin-scraper, with blade of iron.
killutaq — bone scraper for removing children's urine from the platform rugs.
tɔrhuaq — sucking tube, used when drinking water.
ha·vLut — marrow extractor.
havero·t — whittling knife.

qinʌhʌ·q — implement for cutting horn: on a short handle of horn is a piece of sharp iron with a notch in it; was especially used in former times, when they had no saws; by continually passing the notch through the same groove the horn was at length cut through. Common palæolithic implement; has also been used in Denmark, where flint took the place of iron.
ipig'haut — whetting tooth; molar of musk ox, used for whetting knives.
higʟit — whetstone.
pitigheraq — bow-drill; kiŋmiʌq — mouthpiece for same.
iko·tāŋ — drill of flint or iron.
uluʌrto·t — saw.
niχit — fire drill; nʌqiŋmitʌ — breast piece for same, preferably of musk-ox horn; ikilfik — fire-hearth; niɔrut — fire-drill thong.
iŋnäg'haut — fire-stone; pyrites for striking fire.
uvʟaujʌq — downy willow-catkins, used as tinder.
iŋnaut — fire-lighter bag.
huputit — hay and "down" from a lemming's nest, on which the glowing uvʟaujʌq is laid; when the huputit flames up, it is used for lighting the wick of the lamp.
pujuslägtin — tobacco pipe.
kuŋmut — back scratcher.
igʟaiutin — comb, of horn.
ulimaut — adze.
atuʌrtaut — white man's axe.
tugtɔrʌq — thong of caribou skin; babiche.
umiŋmagalik — thong of musk-ox hide.
aχunʌ·q — seal thong; line of bearded seal or common seal skin.
ivalo — sinew thread.
piʟraɔq — plaited sinews.
miŋujʌq — soft dark stone used for colouring.
ivitʌ·q — soft red stone used for colouring.
algʌ·q — shooting glove (with fingers) used in winter with the bow.
igʟukitautit — pack saddle for dogs, used in summer when the dogs have to carry.
ilgʌ·k — snow goggles.
qaʟroag'hutin or taɡʟɔ·q } — snow shoes.
qilaut — drum; ihia — drum skin; kato·tʌ· — drum stick.
tap'he — belt.
at·ät·ʌq — amulet, worn on the clothing.

ʌr'hʌq — ball.
nilʀrtʌq — bear.
ajagʌq — "ring-and-pin" game.
nublugʌq — companion game to ajagʌq, but in this case a piece of bone with holes in it is suspended by a thong inside the hut; the bone is set swinging to and fro, and the players try to hit the holes with a long, thin stick.
igʟo·t — sling.
anɔrihaut — wind-wheel, a toy in the form of mill wings.
ino·jʌq — doll.
in·it·ät or hiʌrualgit — drying rack; to hang over the lamp. Mostly consists of a round wooden frame in which plaited sinew-thread, qilua, is stretched.
unʌ·q — ice-hunting harpoon. naulʌq ordinary harpoon head of bone with blade of flint, iron or copper; if the whole harpoon head is of iron it is called havik.
alʀq — harpoon line of seal thong.
tukʌrhiʌq — harpoon line of plaited caribou sinew.

NB. The other names of ice-hunting implements are given in the list of words.

mitqohivik — piece of skin for keeping sewing needles in.
tik·ivik — thimble holder.
putʟät — stone trap for fox or wolf.
ublahait — tower trap.
mikigiʌq — deadfall of ice, arranged so that a large heavy piece of ice is set up on edge, and when the animal snatches at the bait hanging below, the block falls on it.

3: Rasmussen--102-105 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-5
116, 41

"In connection with the culture elements I have made a number of enquiries of the people as to whether they know or have any tradition of the following implements and accomplishments. The questions were answered by Tatilgaq of the Umingmaktôrmiut, Igiakuhäk of the Puivdlermiut, Victoria Land, and Ômatluk of the Kangerjuarmiut, Prince Albert Sound.

Where the answers to my questions are the same for all the groups no special remark has been added.

No form of sealing net is known.

The Umingmaktôrmiut do not know the use of the sealing stool of wood. If they are to stay long at a breathing hole they sit on a block of snow, as do the people in Victoria Land. The latter, however, know the expression: wooden sealing stool, which they call: that which resembles a footprint, as there is a [103] notch in one side of the stool, and this makes the seat look like a double footprint. They say that such sealing stools sometimes come drifting with the ice from the Ualinermiut, who are thought to live up round Belley Island; the people themselves are never seen. This version is undoubtedly correct, for sealing stools of wood actually are used in the Mackenzie district, to which Belley Island belongs.

Towing gear for kayak hunting is only known as used for caribou, and is called kalut. They do not know either the bladder-dart or the throwing board. Line swivels are used for dog traces.

Two forms of harpoon head are known: the ordinary head used for seals, and a different one used for trout or salmon.

If the harpoon has wounded the seal so badly that its intestines fall out they use an ordinary wound pin to push them back and close the hole. They have no special implement for this.

Two, sometimes three feathers are used on arrows.

Bear traps not known, but wolf and wolverine traps are knovn [sic] from the tunrit.

They do not know the tower trap. It is true that they are to be found throughout the whole area, but they think they are stone houses in which the tunrit have lived.

I have tried to find out whether they know anything of automatic arrow heads for caribou hunting; these heads break off the shaft when they hit, and then work their way further into the animal. They asserted that these were not known. Their arrow heads have only barbs that prevent them from falling out of the wound. If the arrow has gone right through the animal and the head emerges on the other side, it may work out as the animal runs, but not otherwise. Thus they are not automatic in the proper sense.

Salmon harpoons are known and used.

They have no special bird arrows for hunting birds from the kayak. For this they use the caribou lance.

Slings are used. The bola is known from former times...

Hand-nets for birds or fish are not known, presumably because they are not required

there.

They know the hook spear, but it is only used at Coppermine River.

A scraper, held in both hands while working, is used for scraping the flesh side of sealskins thin when they are not to be used for soles but for kamiks. It is sharp on one edge. [104]

The crimping bone is used for the very fine shoes on which the sole extends in a pointed tongue up over the instep.

No special scraping board is used; the fat is scraped off the skins on the flat hand.

They do not use the 'winged' needle case, but the pakitLhaut, consisting of a piece of skin running through the orifice of a marrow bone.

All drying racks are semi-circular and are only oblong or square when the material is not suitable for bending.

Adzes are known and used.

They do not know the women's or skin-boat, even from hearsay. Peculiarly enough, in this very district near Inman River I found the stem of a skin boat.

Kayak scrapers are not known, but the piluijaut, made of the beak of the gull or artic gull, used for cleaning fallen leaves etc. out of the kayak.

Trace toggles are not used, only a large loop that can pass through pArteet: a half-moon-shaped piece of musk-ox horn which, connected by a separate loop with the draught line, gathers all the traces together. Sucking tubes are used for drinking water from

pools or from among stones without having to remove one's back load.

Boxes or trays are made out of willow roots, whereas pottery is unknown except in children's play.

Soapstone pots alone are used for cooking. If these cannot be taken along when hunting, they cook on flat stones, first laying wet moss on the stone, then slices of meat, and then more wet moss. This method of cooking is called patigtigtijut. Blood may also be cooked in a caribou stomach laying wet moss on a flat stone, then the stomach filled with blood on top, after which heated stones are placed in the blood.

They know nothing of permanent winter houses of stone and turf.

It is a common occurrence for women to make sewing bags of bird feet.

They have no wooden stand for the soapstone lamp, which is set on two oblong pieces of wood laid parallel.

Eyeshades are used. They are of wood.

They have no special sealskin jacket for use in the kayak like the Netsilingmiut.

They use socks of loon skin worn in summer. [105]

Combination suits, and trousers and kamiks in one piece are made for children.

The nublugAq game is played especially by the Natliarssungmiut near Coppermine River. They also have 'wind wheels' for playing in the wind.

Masks are not used when shamanizing or in special games. But from Prince Albert Sound they know a kind of mask used in snowstorms to protect the face.

They were not accustomed to working in any kind of flint stone, but only used softer stones that could be ground to shape.

They know no real form of urine tanning, but all waterproof kamiks, when cut out but before being sewn, are steeped in urine for a time, whereby they become softer and easier to sew.

Among the Kangerjuarmiut the kamik skin, after softening in urine, is carefully folded and placed under the platform rugs at a spot where people sit a good deal. There it lies until the urine has soaked well through , and only then are kamiks made of it.

Salmon skin is sometimes used for bags, as also the skin of a fish called the old woman, possibly a wolf-fish. This is especially used for quivers for young people.

... It is the only place in the Northwest Passage where I have been able to identify 'long-pole' hunting.

Snow shoes are known. ... They are made of wood.

They use skin combs for removing the old hair from skins on which a new coat has formed deep down. They have very sharp teeth and have a hollow, almost like a cupped hand, above the teeth.

Pitfalls for caribou are used far into the interior."

3: Raamussen--105-106 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 225

"The share of the hunter who has killed a bearded seal consists of the head, which is cut off at the end of the neck, and then the ... skin round breast and back, flayed off in a continuous ring, from which to cut seal thongs. Although this is a most modest share for the man who caught the animal, he must, into the bargain, display his generosity by making this share as small as possible. [106]

Of other time-honoured shares there are the two that get the shoulders and the two that get the broad pieces of the hind limbs.

Before the actual flensing of a bearded seal begins, the hunter cuts off his share, after which the others have their say; for their interests lie in cutting the parts they are to have as big as possible, and far into the next man's share. Consequently the flensing proceeds almost like a free fight, like a knife duel, in which a man can cut right into the fingers of the one at his side. It is almost a sort of test of manhood, to show that a man is not afraid of getting a deep hack in his hands. The result is that most men's hands are covered with large and deep scars and many have one or more stiff fingers as the outcome of parted sinews. Two men work together when flensing; a dog trace is made fast to the skin of the seal. One pulls at the trace while the other flenses away, the flesh in this way being torn apart while skin and blubber are pulled out."

3: Rasmussen--106 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 281

"This contest as to who can get most [MPK: in the division of a bearded seal] is to blame for the circumstance that a man rarely gets the chance of cutting pieces for thongs, as there is no time to cut the skin out in rings; this is furthermore the explanation of why the thongs are often so badly cut. For they are often cut out of a flat piece of skin in a spiral, simply following the shape of the piece of skin instead of out of a ring of skin cut in one long strip, thus following the natural rounding of the body as ought to be done."

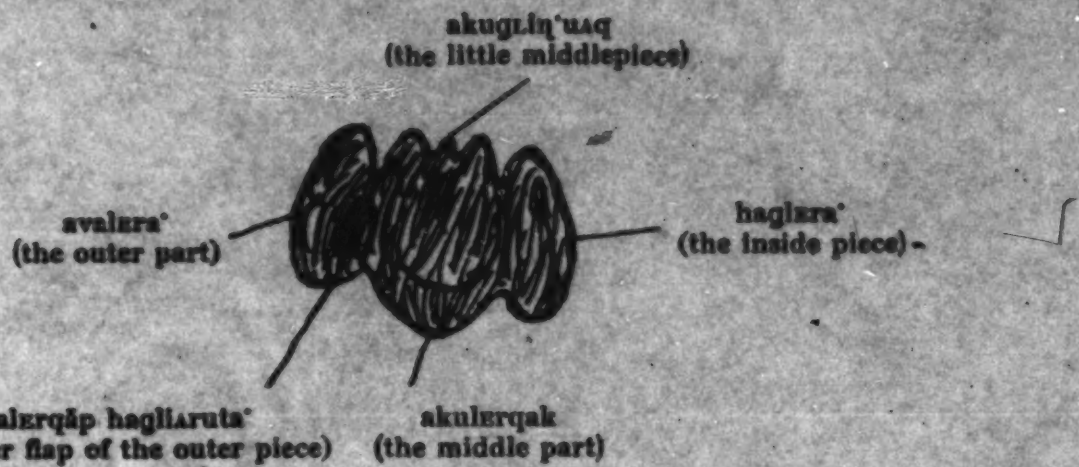
3: Rasmussen--106-107 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 225

"Catching common seals is looked upon as a communal enterprise, when all the men of the village work together. The one who harpoons the seal usually gets the head, entrails and the thin meat of the middle body, and, if there is meat enough and not too many to share, a part of the qo·ᵛik. The remainder of the seal is shared out among the villagers. Sometimes as among the Netsilingmiut a man has comrades with whom he exchanges certain parts of his hunting share, as for instance those who give one another certain parts of the hindquarters; those who give one another the loin; those who give one another a share in the meat of the lower body; those who give one another the shoulder piece; those who give one another blubber, consisting of a strip 15 to 20 cm wide along the entire length of the seal; those who give one another [107] the heart; those who give one another the liver, i. e. its outer piece; those who give one another the ... of the liver, i. e. its inside piece; those who give one another kidneys; those who give one another the rectum piece; those who give one another lungs; those who give one another the breast piece."

3: Rasmussen--107 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 825

[MPK: This sketch is of the liver of a seal.]

"To explain the various, very detailed names of the parts of the liver Netsit drew the following sketch."



3: Rasmussen--107 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 225, 264

"When a seal is caught by those who hunt together at the breathing holes, all collect round the carcase. The man who harpooned it goes down on his knees on the ice at the head of the seal on its left. All his companions also get on their knees, but on the right of the carcase, in a half circle from head to flippers. The hunter then opens the body and cuts out a piece of the liver and small squares of blubber. A piece of liver and of blubber are then thrown far out on the ice, while the hunter cries: 'Here, here (is my offering) may there soon be another seal that will let me catch it!' Then more liver and blubber is cut out, all in small squares, a piece of liver to every piece of blubber; the hunter himself has always to eat the akugLiŋ·uAq (see sketch) [MPK: sketch filed in 116, 825], and, as soon as he has done so, all the others must rise and each one eat his piece of the liver. After the meal they carefully close the small hole through which the liver was taken, using a wound pin, in order that no blood may be wasted."

3: Rasmussen--130 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 292

"Everything is done to make the event [MPK: a sort of community sing held in the dancing house] as festive as possible; both men and women deck themselves out in special garments that gleam brightly with all the pretty inlays of white belly-skin, let in as patterns. Over back and shoulders the men have skins of white ermines that stream like pennants during their movements, and great pains have been taken in embroidering the boots of men and women with red and white strips of skin. On their heads they wear helmets of skin strips sewn together, with the beak of a loon sticking up like a spike at the top."

3: Rasmussen--130-131 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo -1-2
116, 533

"The dancer and drummer, who stands in the centre of the ring, is also the leader of the singing; he opens the song that is to be sung and, when it has gone on so long, the chorus joins in. This chorus, which consists of deep male voices and high, shrill sopranos, is sometimes exceedingly effective. The airs, which do not extend beyond a very few notes, never strike one as being monotonous, variety being provided by the increasing and decreasing tempo of the chorus. Listening to these songs is like hearing breakers beating against rocky cliffs.

Every man, and most of the women, have their own songs with which they have been inspired and then composed themselves. Apart from these new songs, however, they have special spirit hymns, and these too are sung in the festival house when the mistress of the sea beasts, Arnakäpshäluk, is to be invoked. These hymns, which are called Aqiutit, have a simple solemnty about their melodies and they are directed to Hilap inue, the spirits of the air, who alone can help mankind. Both words and tunes are immensely old and are said to have been handed down from generation to generation. They have [131] this in common with the ordinary magic songs that their words are often vague, but no one ever seeks to try to understand them; it is considered that they act by the very force of their fantasy and mysteriousness.

Finally, there is Ingulrait pise, or 'the songs of the departed'. These, too, have been handed down, and although a certain name may often be coupled with them, no one knows how old they really are. As a rule the modern songs are in glorification of some

achievement, or some experience that has left its impression. In contrast to these 'the songs of the departed' are much more sentimental and often seek to express some philosophy of life."

3: Rasmussen--131-132 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-3
116, 533, 539

"I had never heard spirit hymns sung in chorus before, and therefore I had asked them [MPK: the Kiluhigtormiut] to let me hear some of them, songs that are special to these tribes. Later in the evening they alternated between modern and 'classic' songs of the immortal minstrels of past ages.

It was possible for me to get all these songs written down later on, and I reproduce them in another chapter. Here I will merely give one or two examples of their wonderful poetry, so that the reader who feels inclined may compare my somewhat freer translation with the literal conversion of the original text:

Men's impotence.

Perhaps---well
It may not matter!
Perhaps---well.
I sing merely of him,
'the boiling one',
Who sat, fearful, his mouth fast closed,
Among women.

Perhaps---well
It may not matter!
Perhaps---well. [132]
I sing merely of him,
'Caribou Stomach',
Who sat, fearful, his mouth fast closed
Among women.
His two eyes ill-boding,
Bent like a horn
To be cut into leisters!

Perhaps---well
It may not matter!
Perhaps---well.
I sing merely of him,
'The Axe',
Who sat, fearful, his mouth fast closed,
Far, far away from man,
In solitude.

Perhaps---well
It may not matter!
Perhpas---well.
My tongue merely joins words
Into a little song.
A little mouth,
Curling downwards at the corners,
Like a bent twig
For a kayak rib.

Netsit.
The Musk-Ox people."

Hunger.

Fear was about me....
In my little house
Remaining was intolerable.

Hungry and starving
I staggered in over land,
For ever stumbling forwards. [133]

At 'the little musk-ox lake'
The trout made fun of me.
I got no bite.

Onward then I toiled
To 'the young man's broad'--
I had caught salmon there once.

I did so wish to see
Swimming caribou or fish in a lake.
That joy was my one wish.

3: Rasmussen--132-133
116, 539

(c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-2

My thought ended in nothing.
It was like a line
That all runs out.

Would I ever, I wondered
Have firm ground to stand on?
Magic words I mumbled all the way.

Kingmerut.
Man. Ellis River, Queen Maud Sea."

3: Rasmussen--133-134 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-3
116, 539

Song of caribou, musk oxen, women, and men who would be manly.

Glorious it is to see
The caribou flocking down from the forests
And beginning
Their wandering to the north.
Timidly they watch
For the pitfalls of man.
Glorious it is to see
The great herds from the forests
Spreading out over plains of white.
Glorious to see.
Yayai---ya ---yiya. [134]

Glorious it is to see
Early summer's short-haired caribou
Beginning to wander.
Glorious to see them trot
To and fro
Across the promontories,

Seeking a crossing place.
Yai--- ya ---yiya.

Glorious it is
To see the great musk oxen
Gathering in herds.
The little dogs they watch for
When they gather in herds.
Glorious to see.
Yai--- ya ---yiya.

Glorious it is
To see young women
Gathering in little groups
And paying visits in the houses---
Then all at once the men
Do so want to be manly,
While the girls simply
Think of some little lie.
Yayai--- ya ---yiya.

Glorious it is
To see long-haired winter caribou
Returning to the forests.
Fearfully they watch
For the little people,
While the herd follows the ebb-mark of the sea
With a storm of clattering hooves.
Glorious it is
When wandering time is come.
Yayai---ya---yiya.

Netsit.
The Musk-Ox people."

"The sun and the moon and fear of loneliness.

There is fear in
Turning the mind away,
Longing for loneliness,
Amid the joyous
People's throng.
Iyaiya--- ya ---ya.

There is joy in
Feeling the warmth
Come to the great world
And seeing the sun
Follow its old footprints
In the summer night.
Iyaiya---ya ---ya.

There is fear in
Feeling the cold
Come to the great world

3: Rasmussen--136-138
116, 539

(c. 1923) 1932

Copper Eskimo-1-5

Dead man's song

Dreamed by one who is alive.

I am filled with joy
When the day peacefully dawns
Up over the heavens,
ayi, yai ya.

I am filled with joy
When the sun slowly rises
Up over the heavens,
ayi, yai ya.

But else I choke with fear
At greedy maggot throngs;
They eat their way in
At the hollow of my collarbone
And in my eyes,
ayi, yai ya.

And seeing the moon
---Now new moon, now full moon---
Follow its only footprints
In the winter night.
Iyaiya---ya ---ya.

Where does it all go?
I long for the east!
And yet, no more shall I see my uncle,
To whom my mind would fain be revealed.

Tatilgâk.
Man, Musk-Ox people,
Bathurst Inlet."

3: Rasmussen--136-138
116, 539

(c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-2

Here I lie, recollecting
How stifled with fear I was
When they buried me
In a snow hut out on the lake,
ayi, yai ya.

A block of snow was pushed to,
Incomprehensible it was
How my soul should make its way
And fly to the game land up there,
ayi, yai ya.

That door-block worried me,
And ever greater grew my fear
When the fresh-water ice split in the cold,
And the frost-crack thunderously grew
Up over the heavens,
ayi, yai ya. [137]

3: Rasmussen--136-138
116, 539

(c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-3

Glorious was life
In winter.
But did winter bring me joy?
No! Ever was I anxious
For sole-skins and skins for kamiks,
Would there be enough for us all?
Yes, I was ever anxious,
ayi, yai ya.

Glorious was life
In summer.
But did summer bring me joy?
No! Ever was I so anxious
For skins and rugs for the platform,
Yes, I was ever anxious,
ayi, yai ya.

Glorious was life
When standing at one's fishing hole
On the ice.

But did standing at the fishing hole bring me joy?
No! Ever was I so anxious
For my tiny little fish-hook
If it should not get a bite,
ayi, yai ya.

Glorious was life
When dancing in the dance-house.
But did dancing in the dance-house bring me joy?
No! Ever was I so anxious,
That I could not recall
The song I was to sing.
Yes, I was ever anxious,
ayi, yai ya.

Glorious was life...
Now I am filled with joy
For every time a dawn [138]

3: Rasmussen--136-138 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-5
116, 539

Makes white the sky of night,
For every time the sun goes up
Over the heavens,
Ayi, yai, ya.

Netsit.
The Musk-Ox people."

Hymn to the air spirit.

Here I stand,
Humble, with outstretched arms,
For the spirit of the air
Lets glorious food sink down to me.

Here I stand
Surrounded with great joy.
For a caribou bull with high antlers
Recklessly exposed his flanks to me.
---Oh, how I had to crouch
In my hide.

But, scarcely had I
Hastily glimpsed his flanks
When my arrow pierced them
From shoulder to shoulder.

And then, when you, lovely caribou
Let the water go
Out over the ground
As you tumbled down,
Well, then I felt surrounded with great joy.

Here I stand,
Humble, with outstretched arms.
For the spirit of the air
Lets glorious food sink down to me.
Here I stand [139]
Surrounded with great joy.
And this time it was an old dog seal
Starting to blow through his breathing hole.
I, little man,
Stood upright above it,
And with excitement became
Quite long of body,
Until I drove my harpoon in the beast

And tethered it to
My harpoon line!

Igpakuhak.
Man, Victoria Land."

3: Rasmussen--139-140 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

"I believe that a classification that sharply differentiated between ancient songs, modern songs and spirit hymns would to some extent be arbitrary, as the real poets among the Umingmaktormiut undoubtedly set their mark upon the old songs by the personal form they unconsciously give them. It will suffice for me to say that never in any other single [140] group, neither in Greenland, Canada for Alaska, have I met such a poetically gifted people as the Musk Ox folk.

Every singer usually presents his song in two sections--two songs which most frequently have nothing to do with each other. The second section is called its putuhauta; literally this means 'that by means of which one knocks a hole through it', and is to be understood as a conclusion or continuation. Sometimes they say more directly uviua: its increase. Both words are used promiscuously."

3: Rasmussen--155 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 837

[Footnote] "Song-fellows are allowed to lie with one another's wives and often give them handsome skins as presents. In this song the singer ironizes over his opponent, whom he calls 'the great lampoon-singer', but at the same time mocks him because he has no better ideas than that in his song he draws attention to the fact that his wife has received skins for clothing from his opponent--which to the singer seem a trivial and necessary consequence--a proof of his lack of talent, when he tries to be malicious."

3: Rasmussen--162 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

"The song of the departed ones.

Netsit explains the meaning of this as follows: very old people, and dead people, are called: the departing, or the departed. Their songs are particularly popular. Sometimes they recall the name of the man who first sang it, but everything else about him has been forgotten beyond the fact that 'he once lived in our land'; only his song is remembered and sung in the dance-house. [MPK: song text not reproduced.]"

3: Rasmussen--183 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 771

[Footnote] "When I asked Hêq what they meant by singing a song that nobody understood, neither its substance nor hints, he answered: i. e. the spirit hymns have to do with supernatural and unreal things, so ordinary people do not need to understand them. The wisdom in them is often concealed, and one must simply utter the words, which have a special power."

3: Rasmussen--192 [Footnote] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 342

"When a snow hut is built so small that there is not the usual space for floor and platform, it is so arranged that the whole of the floor of the snow hut is made into a platform, but divided into two parts by a narrow passage so that one can go in and out of the hut without stepping on the platform. In such cases the occupants lie with their heads towards one another."

3: Rasmussen--192-193 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 264, 539

"Two men were once out to fetch meat from a cache. When they had thawed the meat out and afterwards were about to eat, they simply built a very tiny snow hut, a long hut with no floor, [193] where they then lay with their heads towards one another and ate, and every time they offered each other a mouthful, they said: Here is some meat for you. For their manner of eating was the usual one, taking turns at passing the same piece of meat from one to the other, each one taking only a mouthful at a time, and so they continued: Here is some meat for you! Here is some meat for you! Here is some meat for you!

Then suddenly they heard a voice outside cry:

That poor meat!

It was the spirit of the air, who merely wished to let them know that it was over them and closely watching what they did, for such is the spirit of the air; it is over one when one least expects it."

3: Rasmussen--193-194 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-3
116, 539

"The orphans and the spirit of the air*). [MPK: footnote omitted]

It is said of an orphan child who never grew up, that when he had been out to fetch something, he always returned hom to his little house with the tails of the animals that people had caught.

Once it happened that a woman among his fellow-villagers did not come back, and no one knew where she was. And as no one knew where she was, the story goes, the child who never grew up and who had a house to himself spoke in connection with the missing woman and said that he knew where she was and could find her.

When he said that, the missing woman's husband gave him a present and accompanied him to his house, and when they came to the house and the child went inside, he followed. The orphan's two grandmothers must have been afraid of their grandchild, for they sat all the time busying themselves with their lamps in order to distract his attention.

Inside the house the child now started to walk to and fro like a real man, and it then appeared that he was walking towards a kind of ladder which he had made up the wall by sticking in it the tails he had taken from the hunters' booty; it was just for that purpose he had taken them home.

Then, it is said, the child spoke, saying that the woman was up there, asleep with her new husband. She was now waking up and putting her kamiks on and was hurrying to get out without her husband's noticing it. She was coming from up there and would soon come

down. [194]

Scarcely had he said 'from up there' when the wife came in. It was the wife of the man who had come there to the shaman seance. But the ladder he had made out of the tails of the animals people caught he used for going up and down during the seance.

Now when the woman came in the orphan counselled her and her husband to kiss one another, for it was the spirit of the air who had abducted her, and therefore they were counselled to kiss each other when the spirit appeared.

The orphan himself continued to walk out to the sides and up and down the ladders. Then he caught sight of the spirit of the air, and then he said, continuing to walk about the house where, owing to his low stature, he did not even need to bow his head, that now the spirit was waking up and pulling his kamiks on. He would soon be down from up there.

Scarcely had he said 'from up there' when the spirit appeared. But to the man and wife he repeated that they should kiss as much as they could. And so when the spirit of the air came in they kissed one another. Immediately the spirit was about to throw himself upon them, it is said, the orphan threw himself upon the spirit, spat right between its eyes and thus killed it on the spot.

It now appeared that the orphan had used his grandmother's skin as an under coat, and that was why he did not grow up. And now, when he took it off, he suddenly grew up. It also appeared that his house--the one he usually went home to and which people thought

was small, really was large. Hitherto it had only jutted a little way up from the ground: most of it had been hidden in the ground, and it was only the uppermost part of it that was visible."

3: Rasmussen--198 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 539, 825

"The salmon-maker, who turns splinters into salmon.

There was once a man who could make all kinds of salmon of wood. He hewed them off with an axe, and, when he had finished them, threw them into a lake.

The so-called eqalugpe·t are said to be made of a reddish, hard wood; their flesh is red, people say, because they are made of this wood. The kind that is called iho·t is made of a whitish wood, for its flesh is white, whereas the arctic cod is, they say, made of a wood with very little grain. All woods, they say, are salmon.

Sea scorpions are said to be made of a kind of willow that grows along the ground, and has a rough bark.

It is said of the salmon-maker that he is open all the way through from mouth to backside."

3: Rasmussen--199 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 539

"The big-calved ones.

There were once two brothers, who, when people went up the fjord, used to attack them from a hiding place. They would suddenly appear in sight and stab them to death, after which they fled towards a great mountain; even if they were followed they always succeeded in escaping, right into the face of the cliff.

But one spring when people again started to go up the fjord, and the brothers as usual had appeared and had stabbed a man to death and thereafter took to their heels and were followed, it happened that they could not get the cliff to open when they wanted to slip inside, and so they themselves were stabbed to death. When they were killed, people say, they lay on the calves of their legs alone. Now when they had been killed the people heard a woman's sobbing in the inside of the cliff, and a woeful voice that wailed: 'Didn't I tell them that they should not eat brains! Now surely they cannot come in!'

Thus the old woman wailed and sorrowed over the disobedience of her sons.

It is from this the two islands at the mouth of the Kiluluitsɔq have got their name: 'The two big-calved ones'."

3: Rasmussen--201 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 539, 789

"The hook-spirits.

The hook-spirits are some of the spirits of the air. According to what is said, they are sunk down into the sea by the shamans.

A shaman places himself in the passage, and the people who have come to witness the seance are in the festival house. The hook-spirits use their hooks to try to pull the passage down--they want it to collapse. But the shaman fears some catastrophe will happen to the people, and, when the spirit approaches the window, he shouts aloud and the windowhas to be splashed with water. The shaman runs outside and, when he says: Now! the people splash water on the window with small scoops that only hold little water. And at once the rushing of spirits outside ceases!

It is when people want mild weather that the shamans sink the hook-spirits down into the sea to the Mother of the Sea Beasts."

3: Rasmussen--202 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 539

"The troll with the amaut.

Once upon a time an amaut-troll caught two children and put them in her back pouch. When the children were stolen they became lousy, and therefore people believe that amaut-trolls are infested with lice. Their under-jacket bags out in the wind, they are so wide; into the back-pouch that this makes they put the children they steal.

At Iglohugssuk, at the place where in autumn people make their winter clothing, amaut-trolls have been seen lately, but they did not catch any child. They disappeared in a cleft in the rock every time they had been out to steal children."

3: Rasmussen--203 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 539

"The belly-troll.

This troll could catch a caribou merely by running it down. It is told that it had become such a quick runner simply by tightening its belly in with thongs.

When it had caught caribou, usually a calf and a bull, people say it had to dig out the ground beneath it to make room for its belly, and then it took the thongs off. Then when it ate it could make an end of both bull and calf.

Then when it happened that it had no more meat and felt slack, it bound up its belly again and started to chase the caribou herds; it was so fleet of foot that it could catch animals merely by running after them."

3: Rasmussen--204-205 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-2
116, 539

"The blind one and the loon.
(Fragment of the tale of the sun and the moon).

There was once a woman who was a trout fisher. She had a child who was blind. When she came home with trout she used to eat the fish herself, but to the child she gave the liver, mixed with excrement; that was his food.

Now the blind one had become sick of this evil-smelling food, and once, when his mother had gone out fishing and he was alone, he heard a loon utter its wailing cry and said to it: 'You there! Now I am tired of bad-smelling food; dive down with me and make me see.'

It is said that the loon then swam in to him and led him out, and, when they had come out it began to dive down with him many times in order to give him his sight.

Then the loon asked if he was not beginning to see the land in there. And though he really was beginning to see it, he at first said no (so that he might dive down again and see still more clearly).

Then at last when he could see (sufficiently well) the loon took him back to the shore; it was a lake they were in. Then he went home to the tent and could now see. When the woman came home, however, he pretended to be blind still and sat in his usual place. As was her custom she began to mix excrement in the liver for him. He made no sign and waited for her to finish. When she was finished she gave him the food and said:

'Here you are.' But the one who had been blind struck at the food-basin and turned it upside down.

Now that he had been given sight he began to harpoon salmon himself, and on the pretext of wanting to help his mother to hold on [205] to the fish when he had harpooned them he put a loop of the line round her wrist; but though he pretended to help her, this was not his intention.

Then when he had made fast in a salmon he released her and let her be dragged along. When the woman saw she was being dragged into the water by the salmon she cried to her son on shore: 'Gurgle gurgle! Why are you letting me be dragged down? I have never allowed your evacuations to dry in your trousers when you were little!'"

3: Rasmussen--267 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 539

"The rumpless ones.
(Fragment of the tale of the sun and the moon).

The rumpless ones are said to be people with no rumps. They do not really eat, they simply suck the juice out of the meat and then leave it. When they have to relieve nature they take the piece of meat and go out with it, and after having pretended to relieve themselves they no longer feel the need of an evacuation.

Then if anyone feels a desire for their 'excrement' they will not allow him to eat; 'it is shit,' they say, 'and so has a nasty taste.'

When their women are about to bear children they slit them open. That is how their children have to come into the world. If the slit is too wide the woman dies, it is said, so they try to cut just outside the place where the child lies."

3: Rasmussen--208 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 539

"The louse.

A louse once asked for his mittens, saying: 'Bring my mittens and my axe. The ones who are going to "The land of the Neck" are getting ready to go.'

His wife is said to have replied: 'They will only crack you,' to which he answered: 'If they put me in their mouths I can get out through their backsides, so I'll come home all right. But if I am squeezed between finger-nails I won't be able to come back.'

It is said that he never returned, so presumably he has been cracked between finger-nails."

3: Rasmussen--209-210 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo -1-2
116, 539

"The black bear that turned into a cloud.

A man out hunting was once attacked by a black bear. It did not kill him, for he pretended to be dead to make the bear believe him dead; and as he feigned death it really took him for dead; it seized him and started off homewards. And as he was being carried in the animal's jaws he took hold of the tops of the bushes and hung on to them.

It is said that when the bear got home with the man it called to its wife and its children that it had got a man for them, one that smelt of urine. Then it took him in and laid him on the side platform to thaw. Beside him it laid an axe, thinking the man dead. When he was thawed out they intended to eat him.

One of the young bears, however, who had seen the man who had been laid out to thaw open his eyes slightly, cried that the food [210] was opening its eyes. Father Bear, who was taking off his kamiks, said it did not matter and that the man had made him quite short of breath by getting hold of the bushes on the way home.

Then the man who had been laid out to thaw quickly seized the axe, struck the bear husband, who had now lain down, on the head with it and hurried outside. As he went out the discarded bear-dress lying beside the door snapped at him, but nevertheless he got out, though the bear woman set out after him. When the man became shortwinded with running he commanded a river to rush forth, making a river spring out between them.

Having done this he waited there for his pursuer. When she came to the river she

asked him how he had crossed it, and he replied that he had drunk it empty. Then she gulped up the river and got over, but burst, and as she burst it is said that mist arose. It is said that the clouds in the sky came from this mist; before that there had been no clouds."

3: Rasmussen--212-213 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-2
116, 539

"The black bear that reared a child.

A woman once went out with two dogs to fetch her father-in-law. She was with child. She did not arrive. As she did not come a search was made for her, but she was not found. So at last they thought no more about her and abandoned the search.

Then there was a man who once while hunting caribou caught sight of a black bear, with something jumping about on its back that looked like a little human being. The hunter returned home without having been seen by the bear and told of what he had seen. When people woke up next morning they went out to look for it, and when they came upon it eating of a whale as usual, they cut off its retreat, shot it with their bows and killed it, but taking care that they did not kill the little being, leaving it unharmed. [213]

When they had killed the bear and ran up to it they discovered that it had been the little being's protector; it proved to have been its foster father. Then the little being showed them the way to the bear's cave, and when they came to it they found the bones of that woman lying outside the cave together with dog bones.

The bear is said to have done all it could to prevent the child from going outside the cave when it had to go away, but nevertheless the child used to go out and, when it came out, it used to stand looking at these bones, which resembled its own limbs. Its foster-father's limbs were not like its own, but these bones were--which was not so strange, for they were really the limbs of the woman who had been its mother..

The bear had bitten the woman to death but drawn her child alive out of her and reared it."

3: Rasmussen--228 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 539

"When the caribou had teeth.

Once on a caribou hunt one of the beaters, a woman, was killed by a caribou cow and its year-old and youngest calf. They attacked her and bit her to death.

After that crime the teeth of the caribou were knocked out. Originally they are said to have had big teeth."

3: Rasmussen--229 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 539

"The bear and the owl.

A bear and an owl were once squabbling. The bear shouted at the owl and reviled it, because it always stood straight up and down and could not roll its eyes.

The owl replied and mocked the bear, because it was always on the wander and its end was always full of dirt.

The bear was about to spring at it, but the owl flew away."

3: Rasmussen--229 [2] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 539

"When the gnats were island dwellers.

At one time gnats never paid their attentions to man, because they kept to a small island.

Then once there was a man who thought his neighbours were not telling the truth, so he paddled out to the little island where the gnats were. They came after him and, although he ran as fast as he could to his kayak, they killed him.

After that the gnats always attacked people--which they had not done before--because now they had tasted human blood."

3: Rasmussen--230 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 539

"The man who was married to a goose.

A man who had a goose as his wife had three children by it. When it had presented him with these it got into the habit of staying away long when it went out for fuel. The man would then scold it and accuse it of having other reasons for staying away than to eat grass, though it was a grass-eater. At this the goose-woman became depressed and told her children to collect feathers. Then when the man once went away caribou hunting, she spoke to them of what she had previously discussed with them, that they should now try to fly up like goslings.

So they put feathers in between their fingers, rose in the air and flew. But the youngest one, who could not raise himself up, wandered along below the others who were flying, singing a song of woe to the effect that he was sad that his dear ones had left him, he having in vain tried to keep up with them in flight, but could not raise himself from the ground."

3: Rasmussen--237 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 539

"Epic Tales.

He is said to have been driven out to sea by the wind, and therefore they thought him dead. He is said to have come to the dangerous beings in human form, to the great bee and to the great caterpillar. When he came to the caterpillar she is said to have hung up his kamiks to dry and told him to lie down and sleep. She intended to kill him with her meat spike. Her food, people say, was human heads.

Then he came to the harmless redshanks, where he is said to have fallen into very long sleep. And, while he slept, when they came to land, they used to waken him to see if he knew what land it was, for they were trying to take him back to his wives, and that is why they wakened him every time they came to land, so that he could see if it was his native place. When at length he recognised his own land, the redshanks returned.

Now when his wives saw a kayak, they said to one another that it looked as if it were Kivio. They recognised his style of paddling.

In that way he came back to his wives."

3: Rasmussen--240 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 186, 539, 831

"Meetings with strange tribes.
Those who became white men.

There was once a woman who would not have a husband. Her family let dogs copulate with her. They took her out to an island, where the dogs then made her pregnant. After that she gave birth to white men. Before that there had been no white men."

3: Rasmussen--245-247 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo -1-3
116, 539

"Tales of killing and vengeance.
The man-killer.

There was once a person who lived at the same place as a man-killer, whose habit it was to kill travellers who came on a visit. He took others' wives and adoptive children and, when his adoptive children were lazy, he cut their noses off. The person who lived at the same place and doubtless really was descended from a dog, and who had come from some place unknown, was pregnant. No one but the man-killer knew about this. Then when she felt the birth pangs he let her be confined, and it is said that she gave birth to a child and two dog pups.

These pups had noses like human beings, but otherwise they were just the same as dogs. [246]

The mother began to rear her human child so that it would be her helper and become invincible. The child grew quickly and well, though he did not become unusually big.

A seal thong was stretched across the inside of the house and, when the snow block was put against the doorway and no more visitors were expected, she let him practise walking the thong. He soon became very clever at the art, was light of foot, nimble and strong.

His skill got to the ears of his neighbours and he was often invited by them. And though he had not previously paid visits, the dog-son now began to accept the invitations.

Then the man-killer said mischievously to him that it would be a delight to him, in a contest with one so young and fresh and lively, to beat him soundly. The other simply pretended to agree with what he said, and answered that he was certainly young and active and nimble.

The man-killer said no more but got up on to the outstretched thong, walked along it and got down again. The dog-son did everything he did. Then the man-killer proposed that they should go outside, and took him to some thongs that were stretched out for hanging game. There he wanted to have a thong-walking contest with him. The dog-son was willing, but whereas the man-killer was only able to run along the line once and then fell off, the dog-son could run backwards and forwards without falling.

Then the dog-son sent for the man-killer and, as he could not reach up to his throat, he squeezed him round the waist and made him vomit. And then, when he vomited blood, he told the other that he might have his wives and his foster children.

Then the dog-son tore off his limbs and killed him properly. He only had to pull at the limbs to part them from the body; such enormous strength he is said to have had, because his mother was not human.

The implement with which the man-killer used to kill his victims was the shoulderblade of a whale, with a hole in it as large as a man's head. The edge is said to have been quite red with human blood.

The dog-son then made ready to go to foreign lands, and used his younger brothers as sledge dogs. When travelling he is said to have swept over the mountain tops almost without touching them. Then when he came to inhabited places he left his dogs outside the entrance passage and covered them over. When he came in, he was told that his dogs were to have waste blubber from the lamp to eat, but to this he answered that they were not accustomed to that kind of food--they only ate meat. He received many invitations, and accepted [247] them. Now in this place too there was a man-killer, who spoke mischievously to him about adroitness and young life, which he would be delighted to beat soundly in a contest, and the dog-son again replied in the same tone.

The man-killer mounted an outstretched line, walked along it and got down. Then they went out to the meat lines. This man-killer was too broad for the dog-son to throw his arms round; he tried it, but could not reach round him. Then when they got up on the meat lines and the dog-son got up last, he followed after the other and pushed him from behind, making him gasp for breath, and he fell off. Then the dog-son went down to him, pulled off his limbs and killed him."

3: Rasmussen--256-257 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 539, 823

"Strange stories.

The giants who turned into land.

Once upon a time a family of giants perished through starvation while making their way towards the sea. First the father died, then two of the children, and finally the mother and the youngest, whom she was carrying in her back pouch. [257]

When they were on the point of dying they agreed to follow Qangmaq, for then they would have a view over the sea and over Unaja at the same time.

As they died of hunger one by one they turned into a whole succession of lands stretching downwards. Their ribs are easy to distinguish, and also the woman's amaut-child, which was the last. This took place at Kitlineq, south of Eqalugtoq at Eqalugtutsiaq."

3: Rasmussen--260 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 539, 828

"My little brother's penis moves with the bubbling water.

Once when people went out caribou hunting, they told a girl who was left behind to make food often for her little brother.

When they were returning to fetch them the sister came to meet them, and said that her little brother's penis was moved by the bubbling water.

For she had been so wicked as to put him in the cooking pot and boil him. And because she had committed this misdeed she was thrown down from a cliff, head downwards."

3: Rasmussen--264 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 539

"The woman who turned into a stone.

There was once a man who, as he could not have the woman he wanted for his wife, because she would not be with him and would not have him as her husband, threatened to make magic over her and turn her to stone if she would not be with him. And just as he made magic over her, she became a stone."

"(those who hide).

As among the Netsilingmiut, a combination of playing hide-and-seek and 'catch'. One of the players runs forward and hides, while all the others stand in a ring, close together with heads bent in order not to see where he runs to. After a time they all commence to look for him, and, when found, he must be pursued and caught. The player who touches him first must then hide, be looked for, caught, etc.

(those who play wolf).

A 'catch' game, opening with a 'wolf' and many people. The wolf chases the people, and every time it succeeds in touching one, the latter has to become a wolf as well, so that the game ends with many wolves and only one person.

(those who say i·ka).

The players gather in a group, and all say one against the other: i·ka! Then suddenly everybody becomes silent, and the game is to see who can remain silent longest. 'you said something first! ', they say, and then the one who spoke has lost and the game begins anew.

(those who play at people).

Ordinary playing with dolls.

(those who pretend to occupy the housewife's seat on the platform).

Consists of playing 'father, mother and children', and doing everything the grown-ups do: going hunting, holding seances, etc. [266]

(those who make little people).

With toy snow-knives they cut human figures in the snow, and these are then used as targets for bow and arrow. They also make figures of caribou, musk oxen, black and polar bears.

(those who play at dying).

One lies on the snow, and the others cut out blocks of snow and place them round about him as with a real corpse. This done, the others stand round about the 'grave', weeping and wailing.

(those who see who is biggest).

One lies down on the snow, and with a snow-knife a cut is made of the shape of his body. The various figures are then compared to see who is biggest.

(those who make a buzzing).

Playing with a 'bull-roarer'. A piece of wood, cut in blade form with notches round the edges and tied on to a string, is whirled round, which makes it produce a buzzing noise when one runs against the wind with it. The wood is sometimes made two-bladed, almost like a propeller, with a hole in the middle. A double line is run through the hole, and, holding it in both hands, the line is alternately pulled tight and slackened; gradually as the lines become twisted the 'buzz' begins to rotate and, when it has developed speed, it makes a buzzing noise.

(playing with string figures).

See illustrations. [MPK: See pp. 271 through 288.]

[MPK: word not translated]

Playing at jigging for cod.

(cutting up game).

Playing at cutting up some animal, blood being provided by making one's nose to bleed.

(those who crowd together).

A kind of football, in which both hands and feet may be used. [267]

(those who strike at something).

A kind of rounders, said to have been introduced from the Netsilingmiut. The ball is usually a piece of skin stuffed with hair or grass, and the bat is just a stick.

(those who play with the nuglugAq).

A 'ring and pin' game. The 'ring', which is a piece of bone or wood, is hung up in the hut. The players are provided with long thin sticks, with which they try to hit the holes in the nuglugAq.

(those who jump over something).

Playing with skipping ropes made of a seal thong. Either one holds both ends of the

rope, or two men keep it swinging and take turns to jump over and in under it.

(those who join arms).

Trial of strength by pulling crooked arms.

(those who in play try to pull something from one another).

Trial of strength between two men, who pull at a short thong with a wooden handle at each end. They squat down, set their feet against each other's, and pull; the one who pulls his opponent to him wins.

(those who join middle fingers).

Trial of strength, by crooking the middle finger round the opponent's and pulling; usually played in a sitting posture.

(those who strike one another with the clenched hand).

Trial of strength; the opponents strike each other with the fist over the shoulders or temples. Is less used in play, but often in duels between two men settling some dispute.

(those who play with ąjagAq).

A 'cup-and-ball' game, usually with a seal bone furnished with many holes placed according to a certain system, so that there is a climax in the game, some holes being more easily hit than others. By means of a short thong the bone is tied to a stick, which is held [268] in the right hand, and the game is to swing the bone up and try to get the stick into one of the holes.

The first time one hits a hole one says: kubluäk --the thumb; second time: tikiäk--index finger; next time: qitEReäk--middle finger; next time: mikilEra·k--ring finger, and finally: EqitkuAq--little finger.

Then the player starts again, this time at the little finger, and goes through them all again. Then he proceeds to the feet, first the toes of one foot, then of the other, all being mentioned by name every time. The player who is first finished says: ... I got through before you did! Then the next time he hits a hole he hands his ajagAq over, ajäghimaʃumik, with the stick in the hole--to his opponent, saying: I have given -- you a place where you may lie down like a dog. Having said this, he mentions the name of some very old woman now dead, and has thus won the game.

(those who play caribou, the others trying to shoot them from hides [MPK: sic]).

In this game some are hunters, who lie in hiding, while others are caribou, holding their arms like horns.

(those who play at stealing).

All kind of hunting implements are set up in the snow, supposed to be the property of a certain person. The other players then have to try to steal them. If one does so, the owner pursues the 'thief'.

[MPK: word not translated]

A number of children sit in a ring; one player then runs across their thighs. When he has been all round the ring he retires a little way and then runs forward again and throws himself on the back of one of those seated, holding him round the neck. He then asks this one to put out his tongue, whereupon he examines it closely and then may either say: 'Why is it so beautiful?', to which the answer is: 'Because I sew so much!' or: 'Why is it so ugly?', the answer to which is: 'Because I am such a bad one at sewing!'

The game continues in the same way, each time running over their legs further and further down, still repeating the same questions. At last it ends by his running right out

on their toes. This done, he takes a final run back, but this time he does not come running, but rolling, and he rolls up the legs of them all, while they have to shout: kumagaluk, kumagaluk--a louse, a louse!, clapping him on the body the while. [269]

[MPK: word not translated.]

The players run up and down a steep snowdrift that has a sharp ridge at the top, where one tries to stand erect a moment before sliding down.

(those who pull each other down).

The players take sides, one taking up a position on top of a steep snowdrift. The other side has then to pull them down by the feet.

(those who play at bears).

One is the bear, and the others chase him. When they catch up with him they pretend to harpoon and wound him.

(those who play musk-ox).

Like the bear game, but in this case it is the musk ox who pursues the others and tries

to horn them.

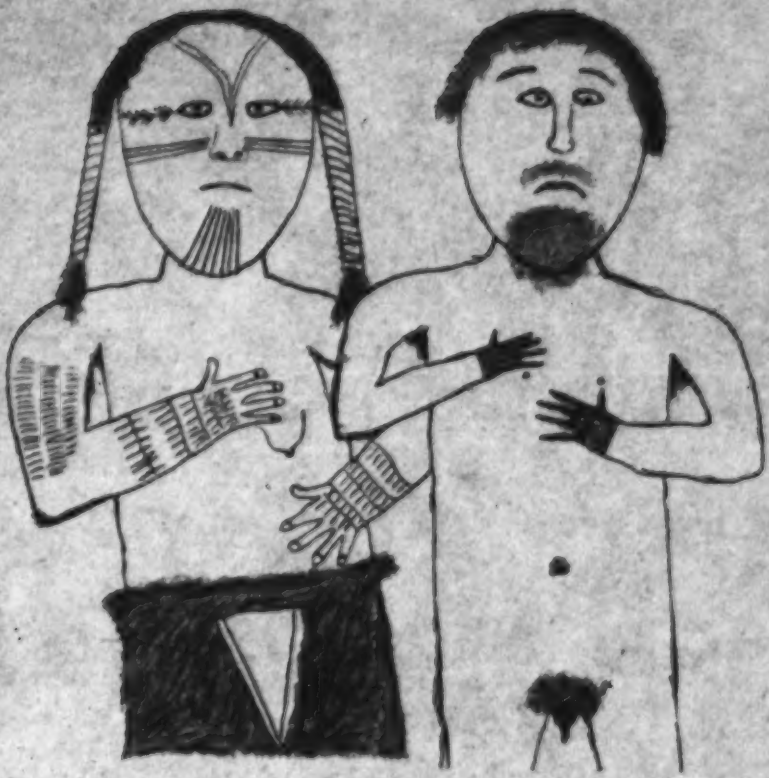
(those who play at killing one another).

The players run after one another, pretending that the index finger is a knife, with which they strike one another down.

(those who play at catching seals).

A seal is made of scraps of caribou skin, and it is placed under a platform skin, out near the edge below the holes made when the skin was stretched. The players have small toy harpoons, and these they try to throw through the holes. A player who hits a hole with his harpoon 'gets a seal'."

3: Rasmussen--opposite 269 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 151, 304, 844



Man and woman, drawn by Netsit.

Only the women are tattooed, never the men. It is always the same patterns that are used, and they have the following names: Lines on the forehead: qaujât, i. e. "brow lines". At the eyes: e'nitit i. e. "those at the eyes". uluagutit: "those at the cheeks". taviərutit: "those at the chin". algərutit: "those on the hands". akhâkrərutit: "those on the upper arm". — Of the necessity of tattooing to women they say: ulərianaʾlaq atərniarpa' kakinuqərume, nutárqinialərume: If one is afraid of being tattooed one will have much worse pains when the child is coming. In other words: tattooing makes for easy childbirth.

3: Raasmussen--269 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 524, 224

"(those who play that they have caught a bear).

It is a hunting custom that if a man when out alone had killed a bear and is returning home, he places a piece of fat on the end of his harpoon or another piece of wood. He carries the harpoon or stick high in the air, now and then running out to the side, to attract the attention of the village to him. All will then know, while he is still a long way off, that he has caught a bear and will come running towards him. It is a favourite children's game to imitate this custom."

"(those who crowd together).

A ball game, differing from that already referred to under the same name. [270] There must be as many players as possible, but split up into partners in twos. The partners have to try to throw the ball to one another so that the others do not get it. Nothing is disallowed; players may fight for the ball, trip one another, and so on. This is equally popular among grown-ups and children.

[MPK: word not translated]

Hopping in one place and making a buzzing noise. The game is to see who can do it longest.

(those who play at invoking spirits).

A common game among children left alone to look after the house while their elders are, for instance, at a song-feast. Everything in the game proceeds just as at a real seance."

3: Rasmussen-- 271-288
116, 524
(c. 1923) 1932
Copper Eskimo-1-20

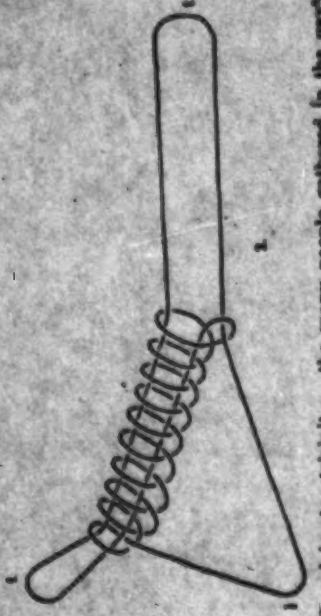
X.

Ajarautit: String figures.

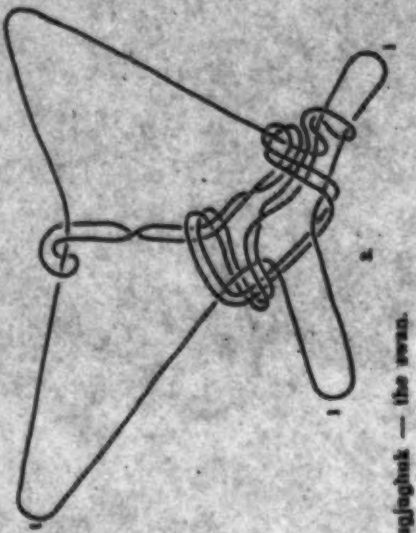
Among the Copper Eskimos, as indeed everywhere among the Eskimos, a pastime they are very fond of is making string figures by means of sinew thread or thin seal-thong. These string figures have an Inuk, or spirit, who decrees that they may only be made in the light time, i. e. the time of the year when the sun can be seen. If they are made in the dark time the spirit will be offended, and the string will become entangled in one's kayak or ice-hunting gear and cause one to perish by choking or drowning. The Ajarautit in the following were made by Netsit, Tatilgak, Qerdlusjôq and Itigartôq, all of the Umingmaktôrmio group.

As a rule the name of the figure explains all about it and what it is intended to represent. In certain cases, however, the word is untranslatable and the figure defies explanation. Unfortunately there was not time to obtain an account of how each figure is made; I have had to be content to indicate the position of the fingers in the reproductions (t stands for thumb, i for index finger, m for middle finger, r for ring finger, l for little finger), and for the rest must refer to Diamond Jenness' splendid and comprehensive work on the same subject in the report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913—18, Vol. 13, B: Eskimo string figures.

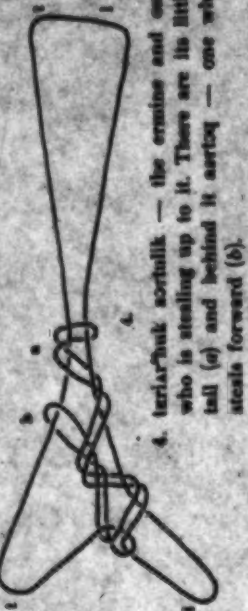
1.-mimerfak — the two forequarters.



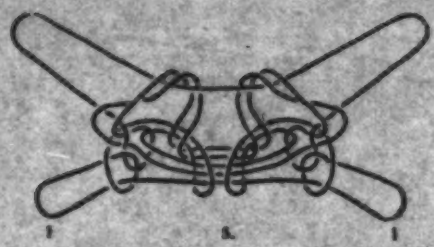
2. qalginaitsartə'rjuit — the many people gathered in the qarʒe.



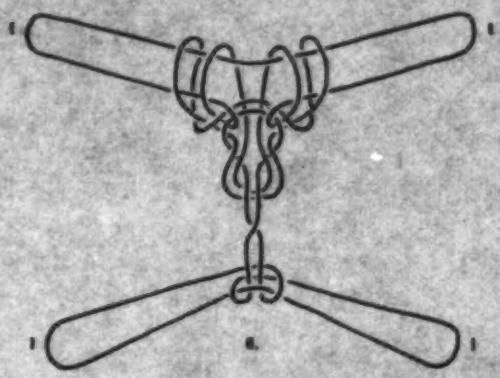
3. quʒuʒhuk — the swan.



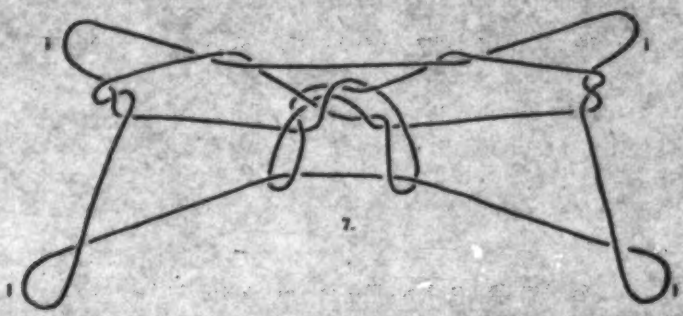
4. tarlarʃhuk aərtulik — the canine and one who is stealing up to it. There are its little tail (a) and behind it aərtuq — one who steals forward (b).



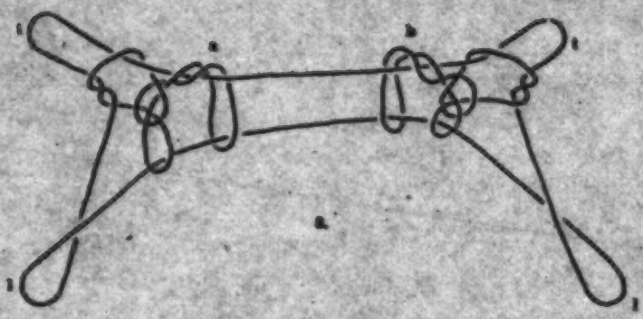
5. uminmautait — the dear musk oxen. The figure represents two musk oxen seen from behind; the legs are distinctly seen below.



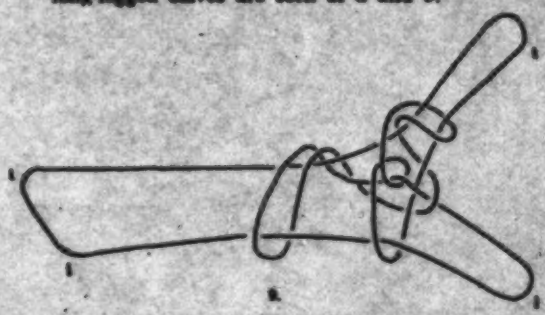
6. pikhuqjuk — the wanderer. Below are his legs, but otherwise no explanation can be given.



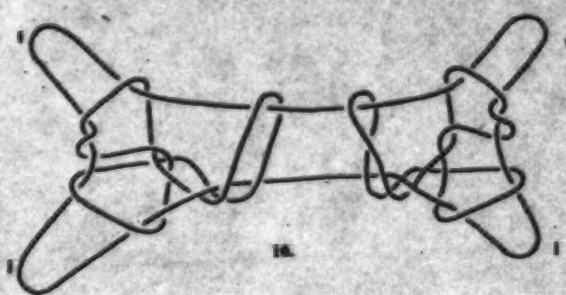
7. [illegible] — a man carrying his kayak on his head. At the top of the figure is the kayak, at the bottom the [illegible]



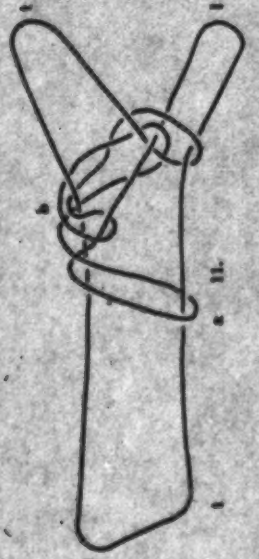
8. nasautsik — the dear caribou calves. The figures of the two long-legged calves are seen at *a* and *b*.



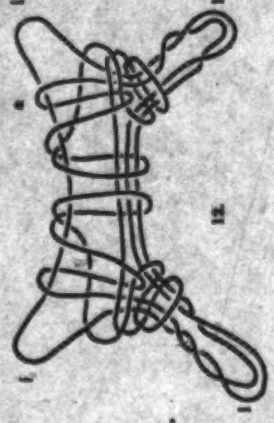
9. pərtəˈhərəq — porcupine. The drawer gives the following explanation of it: small animal, long-legged, thin-bellied, slender, otherwise rare here, not a quick runner, apt to roll up when pursued; when seen, there is usually a snowstorm that night.



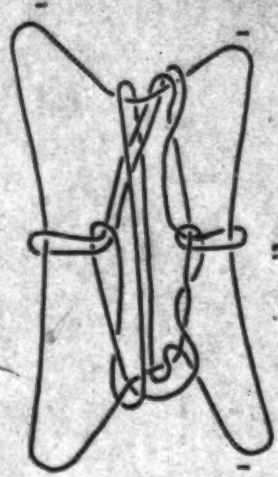
10. tsiərjo·k — the arms.



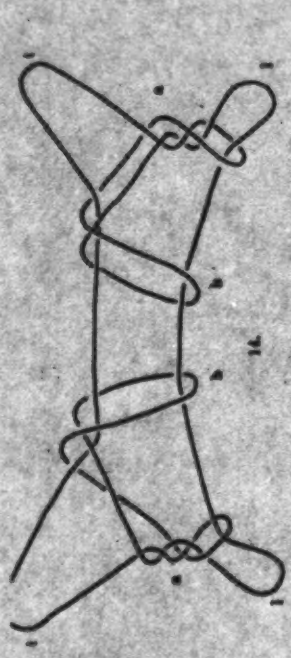
11. amaligjuk — the amaut troll. The legs are seen at *a*, the big amaut, in which children are carried away, at *b*.



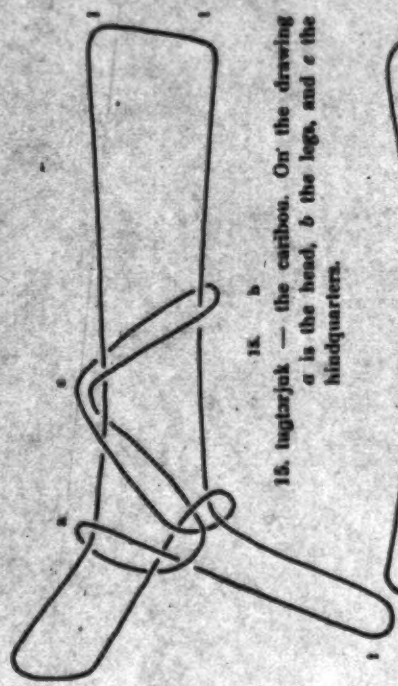
12. paqnerʔuk — the caribou bull. At *a* are its horns.



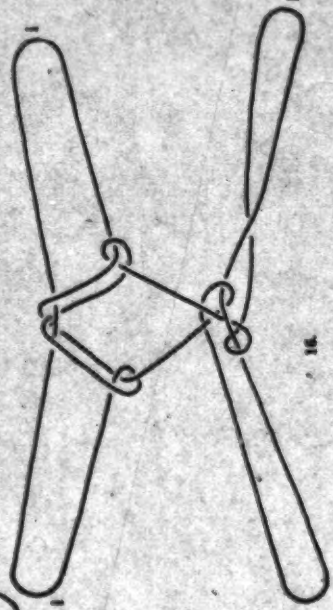
13. nâcerʔuk — the seal.



14. aqqârhuit — the little black bears. The heads are at *a* the hindquarters at *b*; these are raised up above the head as when a black bear is walking.



15. tugtarjuk — the caribou. On the drawing *a* is the head, *b* the legs, and *c* the hindquarters.



16. kunajorhuk — the sea scorpion.

[insert plate page]

17.

17. avaticiaq — something representing limbs.

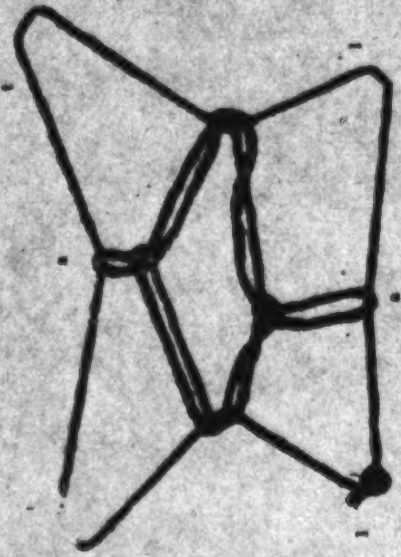
18.

18. nigpartɔrjuk — the breathing-hole hunter. At *a* his head and neck are bent over the breathing hole, at *b* his legs.

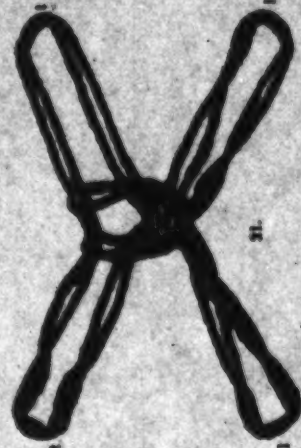
19.

19. ßugkartartɔrjuk — the one with something that can fall down. When the right thumb is released at *a*, the "ring" falls down.

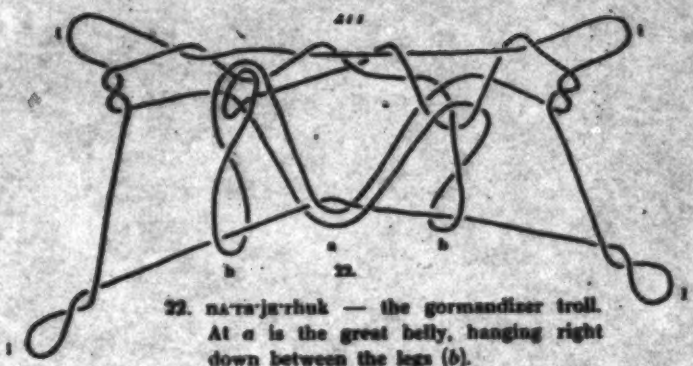
[insert plate page]



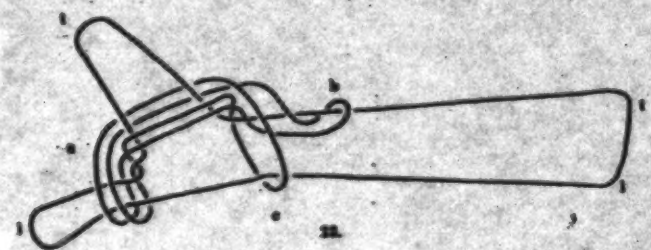
20. qilaluarbuk — the white whale. Its flippers are indicated at a.



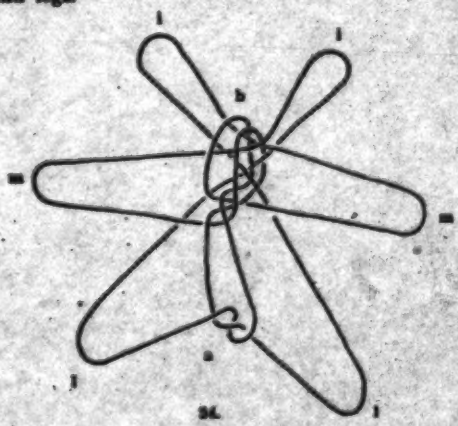
21. tunituarcarbuk — the word is untranslatable and no other explanation can be given than: that is what we call this figure. "tuna" presumably indicates that it is a figure received from the mythical people, the tunit.



22. nʌ·ta·jɛ·rhuk — the gormandizer troll. At *a* is the great belly, hanging right down between the legs (*b*).



23. amʌrɔrjuk — the wolf. At *a* is the head, at *b* the tail, at *c* the hind legs.



24. uhukhuk — the penis. At *a* is penis, at *b* the testicles.

278

25.

25. ugtug'huk — vulva.

26.

26. itsr'huk — anus.

27.

27. arkuleg'huk — reproduktion of a man long dead. At *a* his head, at *b* his legs, at *c* his penis.

28.

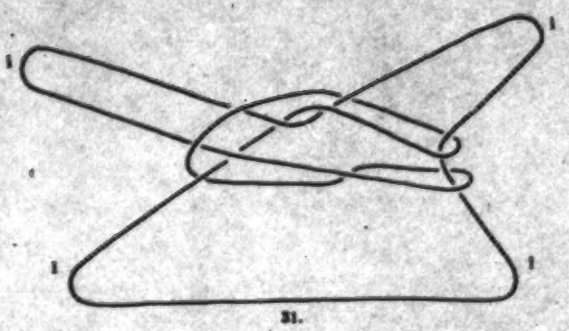
28. nanɔr'huk — the white bear. At *a* the head.

29.

29. qimɛrluigartaːr'huk — the figure is named after the loop at *a*, which can be drawn out with the middle finger.

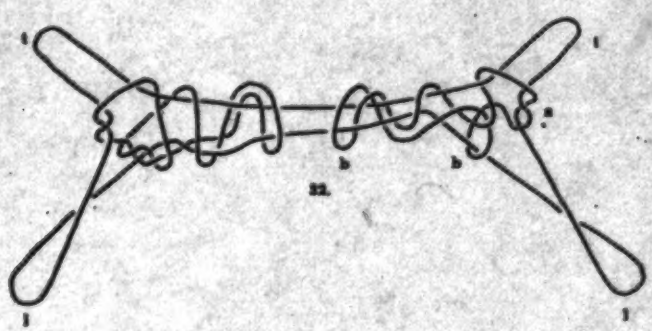
30. *b*

30. terg'himatuartɔr'huk — a fabulous animal now forgotten, possibly the larva te'hima of the tale of the woman who fostered a larva. At *a* are the legs, at *b* the tail.



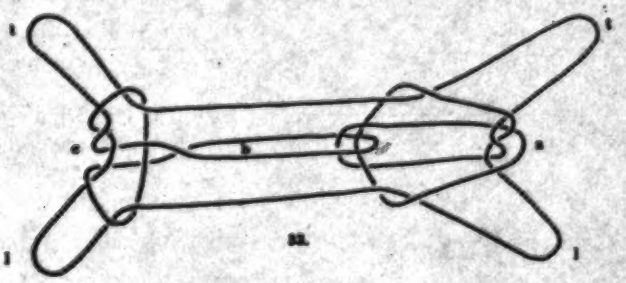
31.

31. qanɛrjuk — the mouth.



32.

32. kili'faiciʌq — the little mammoth. At *a* is the head, at *b* its legs.



33.

33. hak·ɔrjuk — the snow knife. Opposite *a* is the blade, at *b* the handle, and at *c* the cross-grip at the but of the handle.

34.

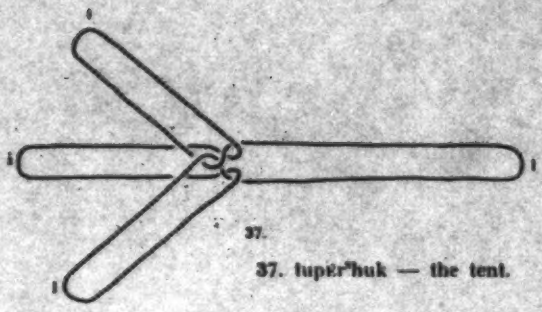
34. tartɔrutkɛrjuk — suet. The round figures in the middle of the figure are the kidneys, the spaces around them the suet.

35.

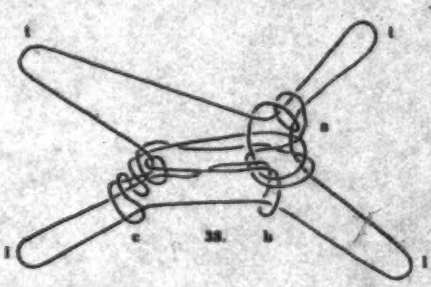
35. ukalɛr'huk — the hare. At *a* are the head and ears, at *b* the hind legs.

36.

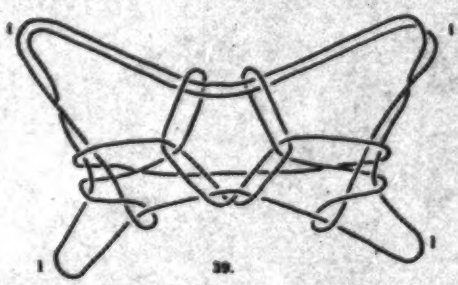
36. alugtuartɔr'huk — the figure represents two animals slobbering up water or blood. At *a* are the bent heads, at *b* the hindquarters.



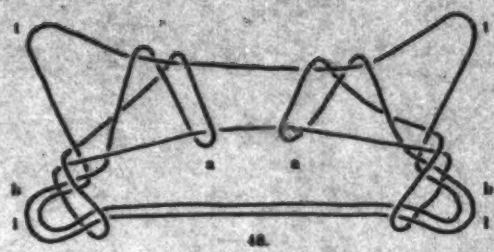
37. tupɛrʰuk — the tent.



38. qiŋmɛrjuk — the dog. At *a* is the head, at *b* the forelegs and at *c* the hind legs.

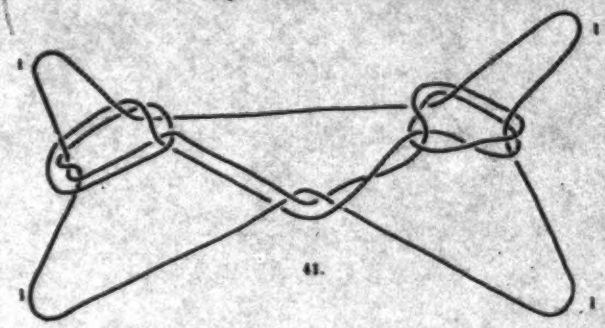


39. tuaiciʌq — the little piece of firm ice, or: the ice floe. This is in the middle of the figure.



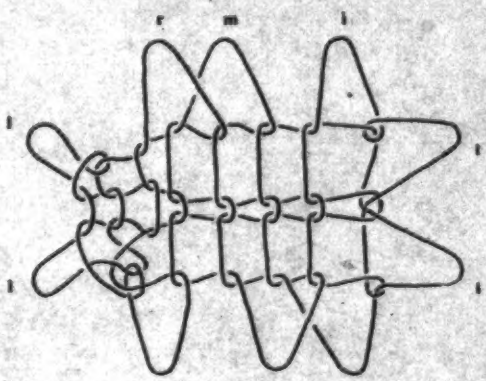
40.

40. ʌqajʌruäg̃tait — the stomachs. These are seen at *a*, whilst *b* is the gullet openings into the stomachs.



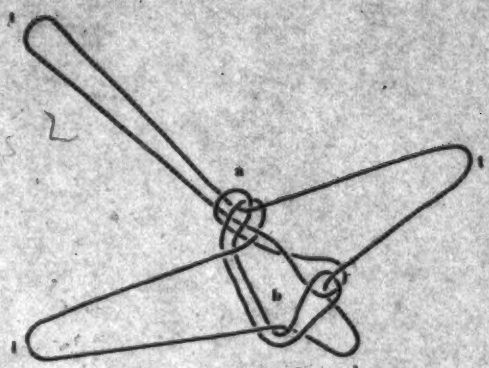
41.

41. quŋʌ'rjo·k — the neck bands.



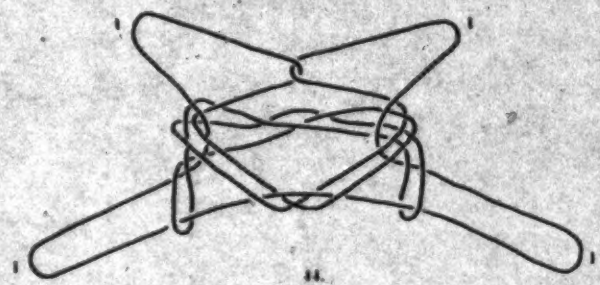
42.

42. hakiäg̃tait — the breast pieces.



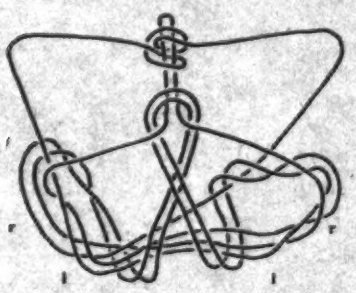
43.

43. ugpigjuk — the owl. The head is at *a*, whilst *b* is the body.

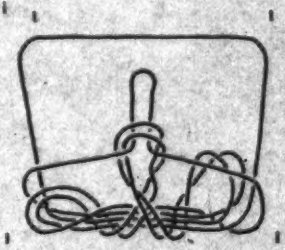


44.

44. i'ha'qahɔr'huk — the outstreched arms.



45 *a*.



45 *b*.

45 *a* og *b*. quka-qukʌ'q. The name is unknown and only used for these two figures.

46. qiŋmerjuk — the dog. At *a* is the head, at *b* the tail.

47. umiqmăŋjuk — the musk ox. To understand the figure the head is imagined at *a*, the neck at *b*, the forelegs at *c* and the hindlegs at *d*.

48. [illegible]ŋuk — a child's undervest.

49.

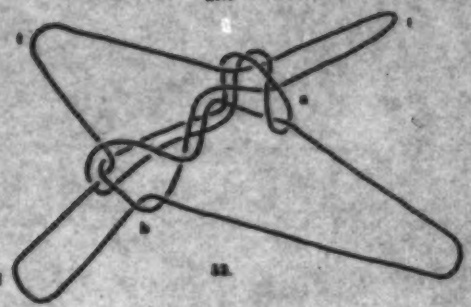
49. kamiqjork — the kamiks. Representing the long kamiks of the women.

50.

50. ikunnatuartut — the flames. The wavy line represents the fire.

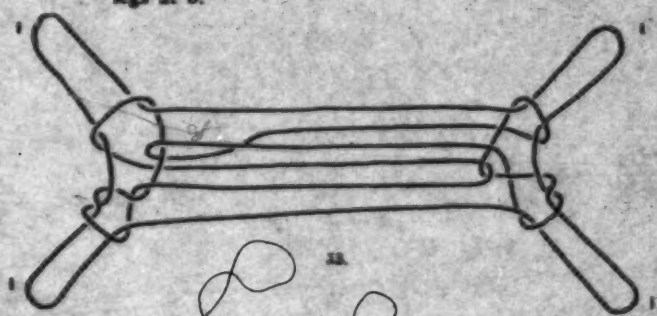
51.

51. qamrjuk — the mouth. The opening is seen at *a*.



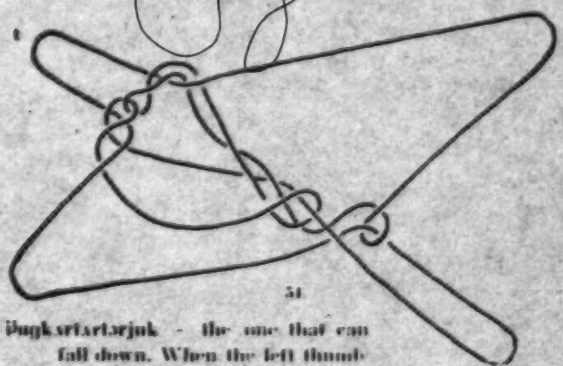
52.

52. to·tɔ·rjuk — the name of a small bird. The beak is at *a*, the legs at *b*.



53.

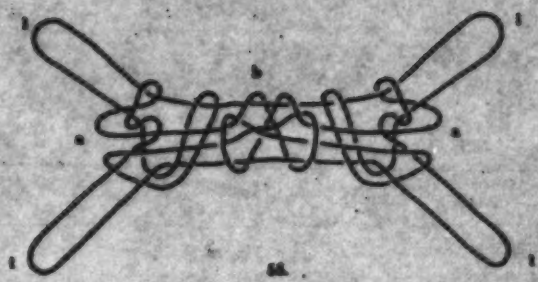
53. nəqigtə'rjo·k or nuhumɪrɔ·rtərjo·k — those that can hold back or those that can be tightened.



54.

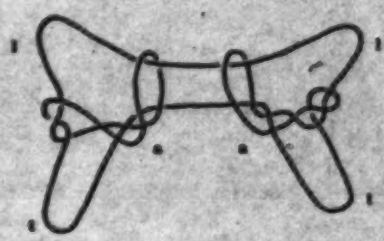
54. ɪ̈ugkɪrtɪrtərjuk — the one that can fall down. When the left thumb slips the upper loop falls dow

3: Rasmussen--271-288 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-20
116, 524



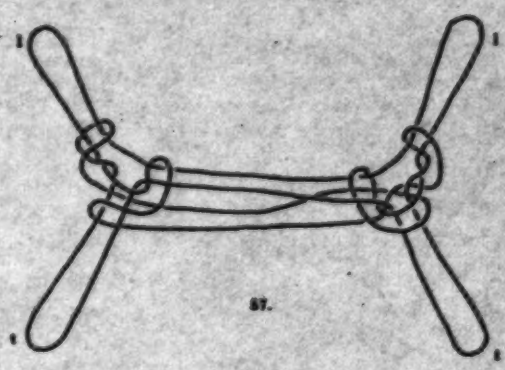
55.

55. aviŋ·ait·ait — the lemmings. These are seen opposite *a*, whilst their den is at *b* in the middle of the figure.



56.

56. he·tqaar'huk — the knee, seen at *a*.



57.

57. aviŋ·ait·ait — the lemmings. Here without the den.

3: Rasmussen--289 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 192, 197

"As the Umingmaktôrmiut are the tribe living furthest east of the Eastern Eskimo group in arctic America, and thus in a way form the extreme flank of that group, whose tongue is essentially different to that of the Western group, the following contains a very comprehensive collection of their words. It makes no pretence of being a dictionary, as it is mostly built upon folk tales, songs, lists of names, etc.; nevertheless it includes many of the most commonly used words in everyday speech, in order to show that it is essentially the same language that is spoken everywhere, right over to Greenland.

It should be observed that among this tribe the letter 's' has practically disappeared, having been replaced by 'h'."

3: Rasmussen--340-341
116, 601

(c. 1923) 1932

Copper Eskimo-1-2

Um.	*Kang.*	*Translation*
ania	ania	sister's elder brother
nukʌra	nukʌra	sister's younger brother
tiguʌrhiga	tiguʌrhiga	foster father foster mother
tiguʌq	tiguʌq	foster son foster daughter
hakiga	hakiga	father-in-law mother-in-law
niŋauŋa	niŋauŋa	son-in-law
ukuaŋa	ukuaŋa	daughter-in-law
niŋauŋa	niŋauŋa	sister's husband
nukaiŋɔq	nukaiŋɔq	wife's younger sister's husband
aŋajuŋ·ɔq	aŋajuŋ·ɔq	wife's elder sister's husband
niŋauŋa	niŋauŋa	husband's sister's husband
hakia	hakia	wife's brother
aiga	aiga	husband's brother
qitunʌqatiga	qitunʌqatiga	son's wife's father daughter's husband's father
aiga	aiga	wife's sister brother's wife
aŋajuŋ·ɔq and nukaiŋɔq	aŋaiuŋ·ɔq and nukainɔq	wife's brother's wife husband's brother's wife

In all more distant relationships no definite terms can be given, as name-fellowship and other matters may exercise influence.

iglɔq	iglɔq	male } cousin
ʌrnʌqāt	ʌrnʌqāt	female } cousin
ata·tāciʌq	ata·tāciʌq	great grandfather
ana·nāciʌq	ana·nāciʌq	great grandmother
ujɔruga	ujɔruga	sister's son — daughter
qaŋiʌra	qaŋiʌra	brother's son — daughter